

Paris 1785
M E M O I R S

O F

G U Y J O L I,

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO

C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z;

C L A U D E J O L I,

CANON OF NOTRE-DAME;

AND THE

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

These several Histories form a SUPPLEMENT to, and an Illustration
of the MEMOIRS of CARDINAL DE RETZ.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,

BY E D W A R D T A Y L O R.

V O L. II.

Who has not read the MEMOIRS of DE RETZ, of JOLI, and the
DUTCHESS of NEMOURS? these WRITERS were Eye-Witnesses
of the Facts which they relate.

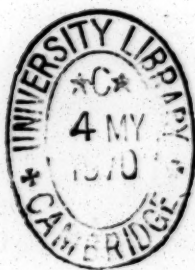
Preface to the Memoirs of CHOISY.

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M E M O I R S

O F

G U Y J O L I.

IN the mean time, as the Cardinal was quite destitute of money, having distributed all that he had remaining amongst the Grand Duke's domestics and the crew of the galley, he desired the Abbé Charrier, who was upon his return to Rome, to provide a lodging for him, to stop at Florence and to request the Bailly de Gondy, who was his relation, and secretary of state to the Grand Duke, to lend him the sum of four thousand crowns, to defray the expences of his journey to Rome : which he did not obtain without some difficulty. His Highness afterwards sent the Cardinal a litter, to convey him from Spedaletta, at which place he had remained a whole fortnight, to Ambrogiano, where he found the Grand Duke, the Grand Dutches, and the Prince, by whom he was entertained in the most sumptuous manner, for the space of a day and a half, although he remained *incognito* during the whole time of his stay. * The conversation, on this occasion, turned solely on the subject of his voyage in general, without entering into the particulars of his affairs, except with respect to the future conclave, which was judged to be near at hand, on account of the great age and of the bad state of health of the Pope. Upon this topic the duke expressed himself with a degree of freedom to his eminency, and strongly recommended to him Cardinal Chigi, giving him to understand, that he would find that prelate

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better

* The Grand Duke gave Cardinal de Retz the upper hand, and caused him to be seated in a chair which was raised higher than his own. The Cardinal received these honours with much becoming modesty.



better disposed, than any one else, to promote his interests.

From Ambrogiano they proceeded to Florence, where Cardinal John Carlo de Medicis magnificently treated the Cardinal de Retz for three days successively, in the Grand Duke's palace, but still *incognito*. He even gave a ball for his entertainment, in a private house, where he assembled all the most beautiful women of the city. Cardinal de Retz was received at Ficanes with the same magnificence, by prince Leopold, the governor of that place, and in all the other parts of the Grand Duke's dominions, through which he passed as far as Radicafani: after which his eminency entered into the ecclesiastical territories, and continued his journey, still *incognito*, and in the Grand Duke's litter, to Rome, where he arrived on the 28th of November 1654.

Immediately upon the arrival of Cardinal de Retz, the Abbé Charrier carried the intelligence to Cardinal Chigi, the secretary of state, to be communicated to his Holiness, who, on the very next day, admitted him to a private audience, in the course of which he testified much esteem and friendship for him, exhorting him to take patience, and to cause his shoulder to be examined, promising that he should want for no kind of assistance or accommodation. Cardinal Chigi sent him afterwards a complimentary message, excusing himself from waiting on him as yet; and declaring that his reason for delaying his visit was, to avoid giving umbrage to the French faction, and that he might not put it out of his power to serve him: which kind of pretexts he made use of on several other occasions, in the sequel, to excuse himself from granting the favours which Cardinal de Retz demanded of him. It was under this pretence that he caused his Holiness to retrench many of the favours and honours, which he had at first intended to confer on him. He prevailed to have the twenty thousand crowns, which the Pope had designed to present him with, reduced to four thousand, and would not suffer his Holiness to admit him to reside with him in his Palace at Montecavallo, observing, that it would be more proper that the Cardinal should fix his abode in some religious community, where, by living in a state of
simplicity,

simplicity, retirement, and humility, he would render essential service to his cause, and would greatly increase the embarrassment of his enemies.

These suggestions, it must be acknowledged, were plausible, and might be considered as prudent and sincere, particularly with respect to the residence and conduct which he recommended to the Cardinal: although, perhaps, a more public manifestation of an open protection would have done the Pope greater honour, and might have proved more advantageous to the affairs of Cardinal de Retz. But certainly he ought not to have made the least reduction in the pecuniary assistance which he had proposed to afford him, and of which he knew the Cardinal stood in such great need: and that assistance might have been given, in conformity to the precepts of the gospel, without sounding the trumpet.

In another instance, also, Cardinal Chigi testified little inclination to support the interests of Cardinal de Retz, although he strenuously endeavoured to induce an opinion of the contrary. This was with respect to a well-written letter, which the latter addressed to the Bishops of France on the state of affairs, and which was, in reality, the production of Messrs. de Port Royal. M. de Verjus, who was afterwards his secretary, had brought it him to Ambrogiano; together with some other dispatches from Pere de Gondy: and, Cardinal de Retz having determined to cause it to be printed, with the intention of sending it to Paris, he demanded the Pope's permission for that purpose, imagining that this letter would acquire additional weight and authority from a tacit approbation of his Holiness. But Cardinal Chigi, who was desirous of keeping fair with the French faction, with the view of securing their interest at the approaching conclave, dexterously evaded the application, after having enveloped the Pope's refusal in several considerations, all of which, according to him, referred to the real advantage of Cardinal de Retz, and in which he prevailed on the Abbé Charrier to acquiesce, and also, by his means, Cardinal de Retz, who was strangely prepossessed with a notion of that prelate's friendship for him. However, Joli, who had

already began to discover in what state matters really were, frankly declared to them his sentiments upon the subject, and pointed out the reasons which ought to render them suspicious of his conduct. But they would never listen to him, and he was, at length, obliged to be silent, whenever Cardinal Chigi's name was mentioned, in order that he might not so frequently embarrass himself in disputes with Cardinal de Retz and the Abbé Charrier, who continued his (the Cardinal's) dupes almost to the very last, although they would never candidly acknowledge their error.

In the mean time, in conformity with the advice of Cardinal Chigi, an apartment was procured for Cardinal de Retz in the convent of the Fathers of the Mission, and his retinue were lodged in a small hotel close by. His shoulder was afterwards examined, and was declared by the surgeons to be dislocated. The operation of reducing it put him to prodigious pain, yet he made very little complaint on the occasion.

The intelligence which arrived from Paris at this period also gave great uneasiness to the Cardinal, particularly with respect to the banishment of his father and of the Dutchesse de Retz and de Brissac; but that of the two latter was but of short duration, their husbands having, soon afterwards, effected an accommodation with the court. He further learnt, that the officers of justice had been sent to the house of M. Caumartin, in order to seize his person; but that he had fortunately eluded their search, by concealing himself in a hole in the wall, behind some tapestry, although fifty of the officers were employed in seeking him, in every part of the house, for upwards of an hour. They would not, perhaps, have departed so soon, had they not observed a ladder placed against the garden wall, over which they imagined Caumartin had made his escape: but all the servants, who were themselves totally ignorant where their master was, were greatly astonished to see him come out of his hiding-place, half an hour after the officers had retired. He afterwards took refuge in Franche Comté where he continued some time with his mother, and also at the house of the Baron de Languet, which was situated upon the frontiers, and at the houses
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of some others of his friends: till the president de Bel-
lièvre had obtained permission for him to reside on one
of his estates nearer to Paris. They further learnt,
that M. Chevalier, the brother of the grand vicar of
Cardinal de Retz, had been seized on his rout from
Lions to Rome, and that the attorney general had, by
order of the court, laid an information against Cardinal
de Retz before the parliament, on the depositions of the
merchants, who had seen his eminency at a Hotellerie
near to St. Sebastian's. Thereupon Cardinal Mazarin
intended to institute a criminal process against Cardinal
de Retz, as having entered into treaties with enemies of
the state; but, as the allegation was false, and destitute
of all manner of proof, the affair dropped of itself.
However, the King, who had lately sent M. de Lyonne
in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the Princes of
Italy, dispatched the most pressing orders to him, to lay
aside all other concerns, and to repair to Rome, for the
purpose of traversing the designs of Cardinal de Retz.
His Majesty also expressly prohibited all the subjects of
France, who were in that city, from holding any com-
munication with him as long as he should continue
there, and forbad all the Cardinals of that nation, or
even of the French faction, to compliment him, by
stopping their coaches, when they should at any time
meet him in the streets, according to the custom of the
place. But when the Pope became acquainted with this
order sent to the Cardinals, he was so highly enraged,
that no one dared to conform to it, his Highness having
acquainted them that, if any of them should fail to pay
the Cardinal the usual civilities, he would certainly
confine them in the Castle of St. Angelo. Moreover,
Cardinal de Retz already found himself in a situation to
command respect, having been joined by upwards of
twenty gentlemen of his acquaintance, who accompanied
him on all occasions, and who were constantly present
at his table; not to mention many others, who had
fixed their abode in the same quarter with him, pur-
posely that they might always be at hand, to afford him
their assistance in case of need. Besides he had received
a considerable supply of money from France, which had
enabled him to assume an appearance suitable to his rank,
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he having furnished himself with three coaches with six horses each, and having retained in his service a great number of attendants, chiefly young Frenchmen, who were very resolute and ready to undertake every thing for the Cardinal's service, and who, joined with the above-mentioned gentlemen and their servants, formed a body of at least a hundred persons, upon whose assistance the Cardinal might at all times depend. It was in his liveries alone that he shewed any humility, having given his numerous servants no other than grey cloaths without any lace; from whence his suite obtained the title of the *grey cloud*.

The friends of Cardinal de Retz, who assisted him with their purses, did not altogether approve of this excessive expence, which they deemed rather useless and unseasonable; but, besides that his natural indication led him into it, he constantly maintained that it was necessary to live after that manner at Rome, where strangers are considered in proportion only to their expences and to the appearance they make; that, should he appear in a state of humiliation, every one would trample on him, and that his enemies would from thence acquire a great advantage over him. In fact, this mode of conduct produced no bad effect, the Pope and the court of Rome judging, from thence, that he was not a man abandoned by his friends, and that they need not be apprehensive of his becoming chargeable to them.

It was known, moreover, that his own private table was served daily with six covers, that he kept another of twenty, for the gentlemen who attended him, exclusive of the common table, of upwards of forty. All this, together with his constant benefactions to the poor, gained Cardinal de Retz great credit with the people, and procured him an almost universal good will, which is not to be despised in cases of that kind. He, therefore, at first, found no great difficulty in effecting part of his designs, perceiving himself to be supported by the public approbation and by the favour of the Pope, to a degree scarcely conceivable. He would, doubtless, have derived from thence very considerable advantages, but for the over caution, the weakness or the artifices of

of Cardinal Chigi, who rendered ineffectual all his measures.

This favourable disposition of the Pope manifested itself on two occasions, of which the first was when he presented Cardinal de Retz with the hat, with the customary forms. For the tears flowed incessantly, and in abundance, from the eyes of that good old man during the whole ceremony, and all his gestures and expressions denoted a most singular affection: which was particularly remarked by every one present. Cardinal Anthony Barberini absented himself on the occasion, and the Cardinals of Este and Bichi retired at the opening of the consistory, having learnt at their entrance that the above ceremony was then to be performed. In this instance, they were actuated by a desire of making their court to Cardinal Mazarin, to whom they even wrote a letter of excuse, declaring that they had been deceived on the occasion, and that the Pope had kept the matter so secret, that they knew nothing of it till they came to the consistory: which was absolutely true.

The second was when the Bishop of Coutance, being authorized by the grand vicars of the chapter, conferred holy orders in the church of *Notre-Dame*. For, as soon as his Holiness became acquainted with the circumstance, he instantly dispatched express instructions to the Nuncio to interdict the Bishop and the grand vicars: which would have proved highly advantageous to the affairs of Cardinal de Retz, and would nearly have decided matters at once, had those dispatches arrived at Paris a little sooner. But a courier extraordinary having brought to that city, much at the same time, the news of the Pope's death, this act of justice, which demonstrated the intentions of the sovereign pontiff, remained ineffectual, and his orders were never carried into execution.

The holy Father, who was ill but three or four days, perceiving that his end approached, commanded the attendance of all the Cardinals, to whom he gave his benediction with many testimonies of a sincere regard, and with a great freedom of spirit; exhorting them to chuse a person worthy of succeeding him in the papal chair, and particularly recommending to them Cardinal Chigi. He soon afterwards died, at Montecavallo, on the

the 7th of January 1655. This Pope was far less regretted than he deserved to have been. He was resolute and vigorous in supporting the interests of the church, possessed a considerable share of penetration, and had a thorough knowledge of the world; but he had some foibles and defects in his character; which too plainly manifested themselves in that excessive deference which he paid to the counsels and opinion of Donna Olimpia, his sister-in-law, who long abused his easiness of temper, having got the whole management of affairs into her own hands. * Every one, therefore, expressed a satisfaction rather than a concern at his death, not excepting even his domestics, who so totally abandoned him from the very moment that he expired, that the rats gnawed his ears, no one having remained with the body.

After his interment, which was performed with the customary solemnities, the Cardinals entered the conclave, on the 18th of January, where they continued shut up for the space nearly of three months. Cardinal de Retz went in with the rest, attended by three conclavists, the Abbé Charrier, Joli, and Imbert, his valet de chambre, although the Cardinals have commonly no more than two, excepting those who are descended from the families of Princes, or who chance to be indisposed at the time: by both which exceptions he was entitled to this privilege, being of a Ducal house, and, moreover, being continually incommoded with the hurt he had received in his shoulder. Here follows a pretty exact detail of the proceedings of that conclave. It was drawn up by Joli, at that time, and sent to one of his friends at Paris. He afterwards retouched this letter in some particular passages, in order to connect it the better with the history.

* The following circumstance will serve to shew the avaricious disposition of Donna Olimpia. A nobleman having sent her a present of some extreme fine fruit, in a silver basin, she kept the whole, pretending that the basin made a part of the present.

The LETTER.

To Mr. ———, respecting the proceedings in the conclave of Alexander the 7th.

S I R,

HAD I not acquainted you, from the very commencement of the conclave, with what was likely to be the event of their meeting, I should not, at this time, presume to lay before you a detail of the various methods by which that august assembly were, at length, induced to elect Cardinal Chigi; a determination which I had already predicted to you. But, perceiving that I was not mistaken in my conjectures, I confess that I am partly inclined to believe, that the general and particular dispositions, which I carefully remarked in the different members of that assembly, were the principal causes of the event in question. For this reason, Sir, I the more readily yield to your request, that I would inform you of the particulars of all that passed on the occasion, for the accuracy of which I cannot pretend to be answerable, save with respect to those matters which fell under my own immediate knowledge; for there is, perhaps, no one single person, who can boast of being acquainted with all the various cabals, intrigues, and secret negotiations, which are customary on such occasions. I presume that you are not ignorant of the forms used in the election of a Pope, on which subject several persons have written at different times. You will observe, only, that the billets, which contain the suffrages of the Cardinals, are folded and sealed in such a manner, that the names of the voters remain totally concealed, whilst that of the Cardinal to whom they give their voices alone appears at first. Those who are empowered to open these billets must not proceed any further till after the election is finished; for it is then allowable to unfold them entirely, and, by that means, many mysteries and infidelities are brought to light.

It is proper also that you should rightly understand the difference between the Scrutiny and the Accessit, which, although two separate acts, form, in reality, but one, with respect to the election. The scrutiny is

first made, by means of a billet, which is conceived in these terms, *Ego Cardinalis, &c.* This cannot be seen but by breaking a seal. *Eligo in summum Pontificem Dominum N——*: this appears, and at bottom; *Sic me sancta Dei Evangelia adjuvent*: to which is added a sentence taken from the Scriptures, which each one chuses according to his fancy, and which is also folded and sealed up, in the same manner as the first part of the billet is, so that it cannot be read.

If in this first form of proceeding any one should have the sufficient number of suffrages, he would be considered as being duly elected, and there the whole business would end: but that rarely happens. They (the members of the conclave) commonly alter and correct the Scrutiny, by what is called the *Accessit*, in giving their votes to some other person, with this difference only, that in the *Accessit*, instead of the term *Eligo*, they make use of that of *Accedo Domino N——*: or else of that of *Accedo Nomini*, when they confirm their first vote. After this the numbers of the *Accessit* are added to those of the Scrutiny, and, if it appears that any Cardinal has two thirds of the whole and one over in his favour, the affair is finished, otherwise it must be begun afresh: this is done twice a day, morning and evening.

In order to form a proper judgment of what is done in the conclave, you must not pay any regard to the reports which are circulated on the subject in the world, as there are numbers of persons who look for the mysterious and the marvellous where neither are to be found, and others, again, who do not sufficiently distinguish the marks of the interposition of providence, which constantly predominates, and which governs the caprices of mankind.

Thus, although the conclave wears an exterior appearance of the utmost pomp and magnificence, yet it does not necessarily follow from thence, that any extraordinary pre-eminence falls to the share of those of whom it is composed. They, like all other men, have their passions and their frailties, and are replete with unevenness of temper, with contradictions, and with caprices. Not but that a man of a wise and prudent conduct has there, as well as every where else, a great advantage
over

over the rest, and that a superior genius will often find the means, dexterously to obtain an ascendancy over the others, and to procure their concurrence in his designs : but it must also be confessed, that in these assemblies an invisible power is frequently observed, which works upon their minds, which forces them to an acquiescence in its determinations in a wonderful manner, and which often defeats the best concerted projects, and the intrigues of the most consummate policy. This was particularly manifest in the conclave in question, where the old concurred in the choice of a person, whose age must destroy all their hopes, and the young earnestly interested themselves in behalf of a man very strict in his conduct, who will not, in all probability, shew much indulgence to their constitutional frailties. On this occasion, France was seen to side with the person whom she had formerly excluded ; Spain, contrary to her usual custom, supported the election of a man of reputed firmness and vigour of conduct, and Cardinal Barberini quitted the party of that court, who were the creatures of his uncle Urban the 8th, and chose for his master him whom he had so long rejected. As during the last days of the life of Innocent the 10th the court of Rome had given a free scope to their censures on his conduct, the face of affairs in that city underwent a sudden alteration, as soon as it was known that he approached his end. It is true that this commonly happens at the close of every pontificate ; but in the present case the revolution was more sudden and more apparent, because his Holiness left no nephew to defend his character after his decease, and also as, every one being strongly affected with the disorders and scandal of the late government, they abandoned themselves to the first impulse of their resentment with too much licentiousness and impetuosity.

This violence of resentment, even in its excess, was nevertheless justly founded. It may even be said to have been the principal cause of the subsequent choice made by the conclave, by shewing that it was universally expected and required, that such a successor to the Papal chair should be elected, as might, by his wise and prudent conduct, remedy what had given offence in the last pontificate.

pontificate. The chief complaint against the late Pope was on account of his attachment and extravagant condescension for Donna Olimpia. The electors made it a point to chuse a person, who was exempt from this failing: after that the interest of the whole christian world was taken into consideration; and, as every one was convinced that the supineness, and over caution of Innocent the 10th had been the cause of his delaying and neglecting the war against the Turks, who disturbed the peace of all Europe, that the differences which subsisted between the christian princes required a more vigorous and efficacious mediation, they endeavoured to find a successor who had the qualities requisite to remedy the evils of which the public complained.

In this almost general disposition of the electors, no one appeared to them to be better qualified to fulfil the wishes of the people than Cardinal Chigi, who, in the public opinion, was supposed to possess all the qualifications necessary to insure the Romans from the apprehension of a revival of the past disorders, and to inspire the whole christian world with the hopes of a prosperous change in the state of affairs.

Not but that Cardinal Sachetti, also, had many friends in the conclave, and that the mildness of his manners, joined with a considerable share of experience in affairs, gained him the good wishes of a numerous party: besides that the circumstance of his age was greatly in his favour, the want of which was compensated in Cardinal Chigi solely by certain equivocal signs of an uncertain state of health. Nevertheless, as Cardinal Sachetti had given the electors some cause to fear his too great attachment to his relations, particularly to a sister-in-law, who was far from being indifferent to him, and as his competitor was less liable to give way to such a propensity, that consideration greatly contributed to determine the Cardinals: not to mention the reputation which Cardinal Chigi had acquired at Munster, the authority and influence which he had derived from his post of secretary of state, the functions of which he had executed in the most gracious manner, and, finally, the recommendation of the late Pope on his death-bed. Although this recommendation came from a person who

was

was not much esteemed by the electors, yet it, nevertheless, had some weight with them : but, besides the above-mentioned two persons, there were others also, who attracted the notice of the public in a certain degree, though rather feebly. All that can be said of them is, that their promotion to the papal chair would have been rather approved than desired, except by some of their particular friends, and from motives of personal interest.

The conclave was, as it constantly is, divided into various factions, which were connected with the principal courts of Europe, of which it will be necessary to give you a general idea. That of France was, at that time, but inconsiderable in point of number, and had not power of itself to insure the election of any particular candidate : but, whatever the Italians may say on the matter, her name and the reputation of her arms was still sufficient to impress a due respect on the electors, and to prevent them from making choice of any person, against whom that crown should manifest an open aversion and distrust. I cannot give you any account of what passed in the secret councils of that party, the Cardinals of whom it was composed, Barberini, Bichi, Grimaldi, Este, and Urfini, having refused to hold any communication whatever with Cardinal de Retz, during the whole time. All that appeared openly on this subject was, that France still continued to exert herself in behalf of Cardinal Sachetti, in like manner as she had done in the former conclave, because he was the intimate friend of Cardinal Mazarin ; and that, on the contrary, she openly rejected Cardinal Chigi, to whom she had even given a formal exclusion.

But this positive declaration of the court of France in favour of Cardinal Sachetti proved very advantageous, in every respect, to Cardinal Chigi, as it served to strengthen his connection with the Spanish faction, and to detach from that of France all the other old men, who had any pretensions to the pontificate. He derived, also, great assistance from his relation and friend, Cardinal Bichi, who embraced every opportunity of serving him, without paying any regard to the King's orders.

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* The Spanish faction was incomparably more numerous, and might, by acting in concert, have insured the election of any person, whose interests they should have espoused : but the Cardinals of whom it was composed were not all so absolutely dependent on that crown, nor so totally devoted to its service, as that their support could be firmly relied on in the present case. The sole matter in which they were unanimous was their steady opposition to Cardinal Sachetti, which nothing could induce them to relinquish. On the contrary, they appeared, on all occasions, to be inclined to favour Cardinal Chigi, on account of the exclusion which the court of France had given him, of his professed enmity to Cardinal Mazarin, and of his vigorous conduct in the affair of the vacant bishoprics of Portugal, he having constantly dissuaded the late Pope from coming to any decision upon the subject, by representing to him, that it would be the means of creating a fresh obstacle to the general peace. Nevertheless, the real sentiments of Spain, respecting these two Cardinals, were veiled under so impenetrable a mysteriousness, that many were of opinion, not only that she did not wish success to Cardinal Chigi, but also that she would not have consented to the exclusion of Cardinal Sachetti, but through complaisance to the Cardinals de Medicis, who had supported his interests in the preceding conclave; in consequence of a misunderstanding which had appeared between those two Cardinals (Di Medicis) and the Spanish Ambassador, who, on many occasions avoided explaining himself, with respect to the exclusion of Cardinal Sachetti, affecting to shift that business upon them : whilst they, on their side, let fall, from time to time, several expressions, which did not seem altogether favourable to Cardinal Chigi.

But there is reason to believe that these pretended misunderstandings and contradictions were merely political, and were intended the better to cover their designs, and to secure the suffrages of some particular per-

* The Cardinals Carlo Di Medicis, J. Carlo Di Medicis, Trivulchio, Colonna, Caraffa, Cesi, Azzalli, Brancaccio, Capponi, Durozzo, Costagalli, Filomarini, Harach, De Hesse, Ludovisio, D. Lugo, Montalto, Maldachini, Roffeti, Raggi, S. Sforza and Savelli

sons, who might have been induced to quit the party, had they declared themselves more openly against the one or in favour of the other. Cardinal Rosseti, for instance, would have immediately withdrawn himself from the faction, had he imagined that it was their intention to elect Cardinal Chigi, to whom he bore a natural aversion and antipathy; not to mention several others, who had too great an esteem for Cardinal Sachetti, to give him a formal exclusion.

* The Barberini faction consisted of the same number as that of Spain, and, in consequence, possessed, perhaps, an equal, if not a greater power of exclusion: seeing that it was composed of a number of old men, who had each his pretensions to the pontificate, and his particular reasons for excluding those who should appear to have the greatest chance of succeeding to that dignity. They seemed, for a considerable time, to be fully determined to support the interests of Cardinal Sachetti, in preference to every one else: but all sensible people were of opinion that they gave him their votes solely from the conviction, that they would be of no service to him, on account of the exclusion of Spain: hoping that, after balloting him for a long time without effect, the conclave might be induced to single out one of their party, who might be less obnoxious to that court. There is even some cause to believe, that this was the intention of Cardinal Barberini in particular, because, after there had appeared, for several days together, thirty three votes in favour of Cardinal Sachetti, there were suddenly found, in one of the scrutinies, thirty one for Cardinal Barberini: which circumstance greatly alarmed the other factions, and obliged them to observe his conduct more closely, and to pay great attention to the discourses of his conclavists and other partizans, who neglected no opportunity of exalting his good qualities, and to accommodate themselves to the humour and to the disposition of the conclave. After all, it was generally believed that the Barberini's were principally attached to

* These were the Cardinals Barberini, Carlo Barberini, Bragadini, Cherubini, Carpegna, Cessa, Lechini, Casarolli, Facquiretti, Franciotti, Gablieli, Ginetti, Giorio, Gualtieri, Matulano, Palotta, Rapaccioli, Spada, Sta, Suzanna and Sachetti.

to Cardinal Sachetti, as being the person who, of all others, was the most likely to be serviceable to them, both in procuring them the restoration of their effects, which the Court of Spain had caused to be seized in the kingdom of Naples, and in establishing the fortunes of their family and of that of Donna Olimpia, who, since the death of the Pope, had entirely thrown herself into their hands, in consequence of the alliance which she had contracted with their house.

They were not in the least inclined to favour Cardinal Chigi. It may even be said that a kind of antipathy subsisted between him and Cardinal Barberini. He not only avoided coming to an explanation, respecting him, with Cardinal de Retz, and constantly expressed a disapprobation of his attempts to influence him in his (Cardinal Chigi's) favour; but he not unfrequently endeavoured to give Cardinal de Retz a disgust to him, in certain points, in which he imagined him to be much more susceptible than he really was, as with respect to Jansenism. He observed that he would do well, before all things, to satisfy himself with regard to Cardinal Chigi's sentiments on the article of the divine grace. Cardinal Chigi, on his side, was not at all better affected towards Cardinal Barberini, and he did not fail to warn Cardinal de Retz against placing too great a confidence in him, representing him as a man of great craft and malignity. But the young Cardinal Carlo Barberini was very differently disposed towards Cardinal Chigi, for whom he, on every occasion, expressed much esteem and regard, as did, also, Cardinal Sachetti and several others of the same party.

* The faction of the Flying Squadron, † though not so numerous, was not, perhaps, less respectable, nor less powerful than the others, being composed entirely of young Cardinals, who were very alert, subtle, and constantly on the watch to turn every event to their advantage.

* This party consisted of the Cardinals Aquaviva, Albizzi, Azzolini, Borromeo, Chigi, Corrado, Farnese, Imperiale, Lomellini, Ottoboni, Pio, De Retz, Santacroce.

† It was denominated the Flying Squadron, because it appeared to be distinct from all the rest, and as siding sometimes with one and sometimes with another.

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tage. They all, at first, appeared to be strongly at-
tached to Cardinal Sachetti, repeating on every occasion,
Sachetti O Cataletto. But the truth is, that one part of
them were disposed to serve Cardinal Chigi alone,
whilst the rest gave him, at least, the second place in
their favour: and, therefore, they very readily con-
curred in placing him in the papal chair, when they
perceived that the exclusion of the other was inevitable.
This difference in the sentiments of the Cardinals of that
party was known but to a few persons, and the friends
of Cardinal Chigi effectually deceived Cardinal Barbe-
rini, with respect to their real intentions, by unani-
mously associating themselves with him, for some time,
in support of Cardinal Sachetti. But they conducted
themselves with less reserve towards Cardinal de Retz:
for, although he did not enter into their councils, as
they knew that he was zealously attached to Cardinal
Chigi, one or other of them constantly warned him to
give his suffrage to Cardinal Sachetti, when they knew
that it would be of no service to him, or to vote against
him, when they were apprehensive of his having too
great a number of voices in his favour: and, if they
had not an opportunity of giving him this information
themselves, they communicated it to him by the inter-
vention of Monsignor Febel, the master of the ceremo-
nies. It is not rightly known whether Cardinal Chigi
was acquainted with this secret management, but he
always feigned to be ignorant of it: and Cardinal de
Retz, who was seated next to him in the chapel, assured
him, that he had been frequently prevented, thereby,
from voting for Cardinal Sachetti, when he wanted but
a very few suffrages of the requisite number.

* The faction of the Little Squadron was composed
of six Cardinals, whom prince Pamphili and the prin-
cesses Rossano, his wife, had united so closely in support
of Cardinal Chigi, that they looked upon those of the
greater Squadron as their avowed enemies, imagining
that they were all firmly attached to Cardinal Sachetti.
This obliged them to unite themselves with the Spanish
faction,

* The Cardinals Cibo, Aldobrandini, Odescalchi, Rondavivi,
Vidman, Donghi.



faction, in order the more effectually to insure his exclusion. The princess Rossano particularly interested herself in behalf of Cardinal Chigi, because he had always shewn her much respect during the late pontificate, and had, upon several occasions, sided with her against Donna Olimpia, in the disputes which frequently arose between them.

Besides these factions, which comprehended the whole conclave, there was one, whose influence was less apparent, and which was diffused throughout all the others. The faction I mean is that of the Jesuits, who are not, it is true, capable of effecting all that is ascribed to them on such occasions, but who form, nevertheless, a kind of *conditio sine qua non*: it being scarcely possible for any one to make his way to the court of Rome and to attain to the higher dignities, unless he is connected and favoured by that society. This invincible cabal did not directly oppose Cardinal Sachetti; but they were sincerely attached to Cardinal Chigi, and they laboured to promote his interests without doors by their intrigues, and in the conclave by the agency of Cardinal de Lugo and some others; but particularly in a most efficacious and delicate manner by the Sermons of Father Quæchit, the preacher to the conclave, in which there was always some passage, which could be applied to Cardinal Chigi alone: that Father dexterously depicting his manner and his conduct, as being worthy of the imitation of the conclave.

Matters being thus pre-disposed, all these different parties began to take their measures for accomplishing the designs they had in view. The Spaniards contented themselves, with remaining united and upon the reserve that they might insure the exclusion of Cardinal Sachetti, for which purpose, they declined to give their suffrages to any person, by making use of the form *accedo nemini*. This conduct they invariably pursued for the term of two whole months, during which, there were found in every scrutiny twenty-two or twenty-three billets, containing the above clause: whilst the French Cardinals, with the Barberini's and the Flying Squadron, ineffectually exerted themselves in favour of Cardinal Sachetti, who had each day thirty-three, and

sometimes

re his ex sometimes thirty-five votes, although he ought to have
 intereste had thirty eight or thirty-nine, had they all been sincere
 e he ha in their attachment to him. But, as it has been already
 e pontif observed, one part of the Flying Squadron betrayed
 with he him. Be this as it may, this circumstance gave rise to
 frequently a pleasantry from Cardinal Cesi, who was called in the
 conclave *la Vecchia*, because he had greatly the mien of
 the whole an eunuch. He observed one day, in coming out of
 s less ap the chapel, after the ballot, that there would be no
 t all th Pope, unless Cardinal *Nemini* and Cardinal *Trentatré*
 suits, wh (Thirty-three) should accommodate matters together.

is ascribe The treachery of the Flying Squadron remained a
 verthele long time a secret to Cardinal Barberini, whose suspi-
 ly possibl cions fell rather on the old Cardinals of his faction,
 Rome and whom he commonly stiled, in his vexation, *Le mie*
 connecte *Bêtie*, when he perceived that there were wanting
 cabal dis almost always six suffrages of thirty-nine, on which
 they we number he had good cause to depend, and which would,
 labourer apparently, have put Cardinal Sachetti in possession of
 intrigues the papal chair, had they all acted in conformity to
 de Lugo their exterior demonstrations of attachment to him
 efficacion (Sachetti): seeing that the number necessary to consti-
 r Quachi tute the validity of the election was not more than forty-
 was alway one or forty-two votes. When the number of suffrages
 inal Chig approaches so near to that which is required, it often
 e manner happens that the partizans of the other cabals break
 ion of th through their connections, with the view of following
 the torrent, from an apprehension lest they should be
 e differen found in the list of the dissentients under a new ponti-
 mplishing ficate: which they endeavour to avoid with all imagin-
 contente able care.

he reserv Moreover, the ambiguous manner in which the Spanish
 rdinal S ambassador had explained himself respecting Cardinal
 give the Sachetti, and a kind of misunderstanding which was
 orm acc observed to exist between that minister and the Cardi-
 d for th nals di Medicis, might induce Barberini to hope, with
 there we no small degree of foundation, that a change might
 enty-thre take place in the sentiments of some of the members of
 e Friend the conclave, which might prove favourable to one or
 ing Squa other of their party, who was known to be but slightly
 r of Car attached to the interests of that crown; particularly
 hree, and with respect to Cardinal Rosseti, who would infallibly
 sometime have

have joined with them (the Barberini faction) could have foreseen the election of Cardinal Chigi, as he offered to do in the sequel, when it was too late.

In short, there is good reason to believe, that Cardinal Barberini's sole motive in attaching himself for so long a time, and with so much obstinacy, to Cardinal Sachetti (although he repeatedly urged him to drop the pursuit, of which every one was convinced, in the end of the inutility) was in order to keep the Spanish party in awe, and to induce that monarch to return a favourable answer to the letter which he wrote to him upon his entrance into the conclave. In this letter, he complained of the injurious treatment he had received from his ministers, who had caused all his possessions in the kingdom of Naples to be seized, offering, nevertheless, to support the interests of his Catholic Majesty in the conclave to the utmost of his power.

Not but that various other intrigues were carried on in favour of different persons, who started up, from time to time, with the view of succeeding, if possible, to the dead hopes of Cardinal Sachetti. But all these ineffectual efforts were nothing more than a mere amusement; which occasioned Cardinal Cesi, who made a jest of all those little intrigues, to say, upon the occasion, *Per Dio gli Sachettano tutti!*

The first who appeared upon the list was Cardinal Caraffa, who, next to the Cardinals Sachetti and Chigi, certainly stood the highest in the public favour: and, had not his death happened soon after the opening of the conclave, it is difficult to say what might have been the consequence; although the disorder with which he was afflicted, obliging him to sit constantly in a chair, ought to have excluded him from an office, in which Action is required in many cases.

Cardinal Rapacioli was also ballotted for more than once, but to no purpose, on account of the exclusion of France, of the secret opposition of Spain, who considered him as a creature of the Barberini's, and of the avowed enmity of Cardinal Spada.

To the same causes, nearly, might be imputed the failure of the Cardinals Capponi, Ginetti, Bragadini, Franciotti, Cherubini, Carpegna, Lechini, Palotta, Durozzo,

Durozzo, Brancaccio, Santa Susanna and Corrado, who were all ballotted, one after another, with the like bad success. Cardinal San Clemente, otherwise Fiorenzola or Matulano, attracted the notice of the conclave in a something greater degree, being strongly supported by the Cardinals Trivulcio and Grimaldi, either of whom might have united the factions of Spain, and might even have procured the concurrence of Cardinal Barberini in their design. But the irreconcilable enmity of the Cardinals Montalto, De Lugo and Albizzi, and, moreover, the formal opposition of the Jesuits, whom neither of the parties dared openly to offend, dissipated all his hopes, which otherwise seemed tolerably well founded.

At length, after all these efforts of the different parties, none of which had produced any effect, the friends of Cardinal Chigi, who, during the whole time, had neglected nothing which could tend to his service, thought it was time to declare themselves, perceiving that the patience of the majority of the Cardinals was exhausted, and that they had, at last, succeeded in their attempts to procure the exclusion of France to be withdrawn.

For it must be observed that Cardinal Bichi, after having convinced Cardinal Sachetti of the small probability there was of his succeeding in his pretensions, had dexterously prevailed on him to write to Cardinal Mazarin in favour of Cardinal Chigi, and to engage to be answerable for his future conduct, both with respect to him (Cardinal Mazarin) and to the court of France. In fact, that prelate gave, in this very conclave, a convincing proof of the uprightness of his intentions towards that crown, on an occasion, in which it must be acknowledged that the Cardinals of the French faction greatly neglected their duty. For, the Spanish ambassador having given his master the title of Eldest Son of the Church, in a memorial which he laid before the conclave, without any opposition on the part of those gentlemen, Cardinal Chigi, who was seated next to Cardinal de Retz, not only prevailed on him to protest against the innovation, but also directed him in what manner to proceed in the affair: after which Cardinal de

de Retz, rising from his seat, observed, that, the title of Eldest Son of the Church belonging solely to his Most Christian Majesty, he was too much a Frenchman, and too faithful a servant of the King, to suffer it to be given to any one else; that, if the Cardinals who were attached to his Majesty's interests had failed in a due attention to their duty, he would not neglect his; that the rigour with which he was treated should never eradicate from his breast that regard which he had ever entertained for the honour and interest of his sovereign; that he requested that the Sacred College would not receive the memorial in its present form, and that they would grant him a certificate of his having opposed it, in behalf of the King, his master.

Be that as it may, Cardinal Sachetti's letter had the desired effect on Cardinal Mazarin, who immediately sent the necessary orders for withdrawing the exclusion. There was now nothing remaining to be done but to obtain the concurrence of Cardinal Barberini. He for a long time rejected all the solicitations of Cardinal Bichi, and of those of the Flying Squadron, who, at last, had openly declared themselves in favour of Cardinal Chigi. But, at length, having received the King of Spain's answer, which was nearly conformable to all his wishes, and in which there was a positive promise that his effects, which had been seized at Naples, should be restored to him; and Cardinal de Lugo having assured him of the protection of Cardinal Chigi, for his own family and for that of Donna Olimpia, he consented to a conference with the Cardinals di Medicis. At this conference, all the leaders of the different parties being present, it was unanimously determined to proceed on the next day, April 7, 1655, to the election of Cardinal Chigi, which was carried without one dissenting voice, save that of Cardinal Rosetti, who, although a member of the Spanish faction, could not prevail on himself to vote for the person whom he mortally hated, and, therefore, gave his suffrage to Cardinal Sachetti, after having offered it, together with four others, on which he could depend, to Cardinal Barberini, who told him that it was now too late, and that he had entered into an engagement from which he could not recede.

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This determination was so sudden and was kept so secret, till the very moment of its execution, that it totally confounded all those who did not approve of it in their hearts, and who would certainly have declared themselves in favour of Cardinal Sachetti, had they had time to recover from their surprize. But, perceiving that all their chiefs were hastening to the adoration, they suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent, through fear of involving themselves in troubles and inconveniencies by a fruitless and unseasonable opposition.

This, Sir, is all I can acquaint you with concerning the transactions of the conclave. God grant that what Pasquin observed on the occasion, respecting the Pope's arms, and the unusual length of the conclave may not be verified, and that all the world may not say, with him :

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

Dated the 15th of April 1655.

The election of Cardinal Chigi, who assumed the title of Alexander the 7th, gave, at first, great satisfaction to the public; every one being prepossessed in his favour. And this satisfaction continued undiminished for a considerable time, because that, in the beginning of his pontificate, he did not send for his relations to court, and that he expressed himself on the subject in such a manner, as gave room to believe, that he would never think of adopting that measure. He also affected to demonstrate, in various instances, a spirit of disengagement from the world, his coffin being constantly placed by his bed side, in order to shew that the idea of death was always present to his mind. This kind of conduct caused the people to entertain a marvellous veneration for him. Some time afterwards, however, the Holy Father began to employ himself in the very *minutiae* of pomp and splendor, having caused the most magnificent habits and furniture to be made, together with carriages and

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and liveries, which were more superb than those of any of his predecessors. He spared no expence to gratify his vain disposition, even in the most trifling matters, his very slippers having cost him upwards of fifty crowns. These fopperies did not disgust the people of Rome, who are naturally fond of pomp and profusion : but every man of sense soon formed a due judgment on the matter, and that judgment was not at all favourable to him. It was commonly observed of him, that he was *minimus in maximis, et maximus in minimis*

Cardinal de Retz did not penetrate so soon as the rest into the real character of this Pope, and he continued in his error for a long time, being so fully persuaded of his friendship for him and of his firmness, that he acquainted the Duke de Noirmontier, that he might accommodate matters with the court whenever he should think proper, without concerning himself about him, imagining himself to be secure of so powerful a protection from the Pope, that he should be enabled thereby to terminate all his affairs, without the least difficulty, to his honour and advantage. He wrote in the same stile to all his friends, insinuating to them that he had had a considerable share in the election of his Holiness ; and this he and the Abbé Charrier continually repeated at Rome also, with great indiscretion, to every one that would give credit to their assertions, although, in reality, he had not had the least concern whatever in bringing about that event. But even had this been true, it was not at all prudent to mention it, lest it should prejudice him in the favour of the Pope, which accordingly happened in the sequel.

They both imagined their affairs to be in so prosperous and so secure a state, that they expressed the utmost resentment against those who endeavoured to make them sensible of the negligent and dilatory conduct of the new Pontiff, respecting the Cardinal. They inveighed in the most public and indiscreet manner against M. de Lyonne, the envoy extraordinary from the court of France, in order to traverse his negotiations ; and their behaviour in this instance was so violent and so unbecoming, that they were censured for it by their very best friends. M. de Lyonne acted with much greater moderation :

ration : he contented himself with executing, without any appearance of virulence, the orders which he received from the King : and, at the same time, to shew Cardinal de Retz that, notwithstanding the post which he held, he still entertained all due respect for him, and that his sentiments with regard to him were very different from those of his employers, he privately sent M. de Barillon de Châtillon to the Cardinal, to offer him his services, to induce the court of France to be reconciled to him, even without insisting on his resignation. But the Abbé Charrier would not suffer him to listen to this proposal, having already entered into a negotiation with M. de Crofi Fouquet, * who came to Rome nearly at the same time with M. de Lyonne, and with the view of traversing his measures, the Fouquets being extremely apprehensive lest that affair should be accommodated by the intervention of M. de Lyonne, of whom they entertained a violent jealousy. For this reason they had prevailed on their relation to undertake this journey, that, by his means, they might obtain information of all that passed ; having judged him to be more likely than any one else to insinuate himself into the confidence of Cardinal de Retz, because he had formerly treated with him on the subject of the release-ment of the Prince of Condé, and was afterwards a prisoner with him in the castle of Vincennes. During their confinement there, they had carried on a constant correspondence by letter ; for which purpose, they made use of a hole in the chimney, and of a packthread, which Crofi let down from the window of his chamber, which was over that of the Cardinal. The Fouquets took another step, also, to procure exact intelligence of every transaction : for they sent to Rome, with M. de Lyonne, their youngest brother, who was, at that time, a member of the parliament, and who was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Agde, in order to serve them as a spy over the conduct of de Lyonne. This he was easily enabled to do, that minister being necessitated to communicate to him the greatest part of his dispatches, on account of the credit which his brothers

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* Crofi Fouquet was not in any degree related to the Superintendent, and their families were at variance with each other.

possessed at court, and Madame de Lyonne, by whom young Fouquet was much favoured, carefully acquainted him with all that passed.

The Abbé Charrier, therefore, did not find it difficult to persuade Cardinal de Retz, that his interest absolutely required that he should connect himself with those gentlemen, who appeared, in fact, to be more capable of serving him effectually than M. de Lyonne, either at Paris or at Rome. Croissi was accordingly introduced to the Cardinal by the Abbé Charrier, and he regularly waited on his eminency every evening, sometimes bringing with him young Fouquet, to confirm what he advanced, and to entertain the Cardinal with a recital of his adventures with Madame de Lyonne, of which he related all the circumstances, describing the manner and the places of their interviews, together with certain secret doors, made purposely, some for the use of the wife, and others for that of the husband. The husband, on his side, made love to a beautiful young lady, an attendant on his wife, named Agatha. These little histories of gallantry diverted Cardinal de Retz, and united him so closely with these gentlemen, that every attempt to detach him from them proved ineffectual. Moreover Croissi took great care to inform him of the contents of all the dispatches which M. de Lyonne either received or sent to France: and, in order the more fully to convince the Cardinal of the truth and exactness of his intelligence, he employed in this intrigue a kind of doctor of laws, named de Lor, who waited on the Cardinal, as if of his own accord, with an offer to furnish him with copies of all the letters which his master (M. de Lyonne) wrote to the Court, and which minutely corresponded with the intelligence communicated, from time to time, by Croissi.

This deception was so gross, that it ought, alone, to have been sufficient to open the eyes of Cardinal de Retz and the Abbé Charrier, as it very rarely happens that such an exact conformity is found in the relations of persons, who have not previously agreed on the particulars of their testimony. Nevertheless, this very circumstance served only to blind them still more, and the Abbé Charrier prided himself so much in having effected
this

this important connection, that he could not bear that Joli should attempt to render it suspected by the Cardinal, who was not less infatuated with it than himself. Joli, however, neglected nothing which might tend to disgust his eminency against this connection, because he knew that Croissi had no other design than to prevail on the Cardinal to confirm his resignation, as he had acknowledged to M. Vacherot, his physician, and to Verjus, his secretary.

If Joli's endeavours were not attended with all the success he wished, they, at least, induced the Cardinal to act with greater precaution, and to declare his sentiments to these persons with less unreserve than he had at first done : his friends at Paris having given weight to Joli's suspicions, by acquainting him that the Fouquets betrayed him ; that they gave information to the court of all that he did, said or thought ; and that the Abbé Fouquet was the person, who constantly promoted and carried into execution the most violent resolutions of the court against him. They informed him, that it was through his means that the letter to the bishops had been burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as being a seditious libel, in virtue of a sentence of the Châtelet, which had been published by sound of trumpet throughout the streets of Paris : together with an order for all persons who were with him, not excepting even his domestics, to quit him without delay and to return to France. They further informed him, that he had caused an article to be inserted in the Gazette, purporting that the protestation made by Cardinal de Retz in the conclave, against the memorial presented by the Spanish ambassador, was merely a trick concerted between them, and a consequence of his secret correspondence with that minister : as if it had been possible, or even probable, that that ambassador should have dared to involve his master and himself in an affair of that nature, for the purpose of giving Cardinal de Retz an opportunity of rendering the court of France so glorious and so beneficial a service.

All these matters were justly imputed to the Abbé Fouquet, who was known to be the superintendant of the Gazette, and the director of all the *Affiches* [public notices,

notices, proclamations, &c. pasted up in the streets] of Paris, of which he availed himself with so much address, malice and fraud, that he never was at a loss for means to compass his ends. He made use equally of all kinds of intelligence, whether true or false. He himself caused proclamations to be pasted up in the streets, bearing the names of the Prince of Condé and of Cardinal de Retz. Afterwards, he sent persons to tear them down, and carried them to Cardinal Mazarin, to demonstrate his care and vigilance.

Much about this time, a piece of news was made public, which became the subject of general conversation. This was the marriage of one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces with the Duke of Modena, the principal design of which, it was imagined, was to alarm the Pope, and to make him sensible that, in consequence of that alliance, the war might, in case of need, be carried into his Holiness's dominions, should he interest himself too far in the affairs of Cardinal de Retz. But this alliance, instead of producing that effect, gave rise to very different sentiments in the mind of the Pope, who, far from being dispirited, determined to shew that minister that he entertained not the least fear of him. He accordingly conferred on Cardinal de Retz the Pall [*Pallium*] of the archbishopric of Paris, which he had refused him for a long time past. Although that ceremony is not of much consequence in itself, it proved of no small importance on the present occasion, as the Pope thereby solemnly recognized the archiepiscopal authority of Cardinal de Retz, which was at that time controverted by the court of France. The truth, however, is, that it was with no small difficulty that his Holiness prevailed on himself to take this vigorous step, neither, perhaps, would he have done it at any other time, had he not been very sensible that this ceremony was a mere formality, which did not, in the least, tend to engage him in any thing further.

However, Cardinal de Retz did not fail to magnify this trifling favour to his friends in France, where the news of it arrived at a very critical juncture, to revive the spirit of his partizans, who began to fear that he had been duped in the late election of the Pope, and that he
had

had imposed upon them with respect to that transaction. The publication of the bull for the Jubilee, which it is customary for every Pope to grant at his entrance upon his pontificate, furnished him with a specious pretext for exercising his authority. That bull was addressed to the archbishops and bishops, to their grand vicars, and, in their absence, to those who had the charge of souls; and as, by this last clause, the chapters appeared to be excluded, Cardinal de Retz from thence took occasion to direct the publication of it in his diocese to be made by Messrs. Chevalier and l'Avocat, his grand vicars, or, in case of their absence, by the curates of the Magdalen and St. Severin, the arch-priests, whom he also appointed to act as his grand vicars. Those gentlemen caused the publication to be instantly made in their respective parishes, and entered upon the execution of the other duties of their office. It even happened that the curates of Paris, who disapproved of the assumed power of the chapter, availed themselves of the terms of the bull, to carry it into execution in their several parishes, without waiting for the orders of that body, in conformity to the directions of the arch-priests, who were invested with the authority of Cardinal de Retz.

The Nuncio, also, exerted himself to the utmost to effect the same design, publicly declaring that he had received precise orders to prevent the chapter from interfering on the occasion: so that a dissention began to arise among those who laid claim to the government of the diocese, more especially as Cardinal de Retz, at the same time, wrote a letter to the chapter, declaring to them that, as the Pope had granted him the Pallium, thereby confirming him in the full possession of the archiepiscopal authority, he enjoined them to abstain in future from intermeddling, upon any account, in the government of his diocese, and to recognize the two arch-priests for his grand vicars.

This letter having been delivered to the chapter by a person unknown, who said that he brought it from the court; it was directly opened and read, after a slight opposition had been raised by some of the members, when they perceived the signature of Cardinal de Retz to it: and, the matter, being debated, it was tacitly resolved,

resolved, by a majority of votes, to yield obedience to the Cardinal's injunctions, although no one dared to express himself with freedom on the subject, excepting M. Stuart d'Aubigni, a relation of the King of England, and who, on every occasion, espoused the cause of Cardinal de Retz with much vigour and firmness, defending his conduct in the most able manner. The dean, with some others of the members, who were attached to the court, endeavoured to prevent this resolution from passing, but without effect; and the grand vicars of the chapter desisted from the further execution of their functions from that very day. It was ordered only, that the letter should be carried open to the court, who were a little embarrassed by all these fresh proceedings, and knew not what method to take to put a stop to them: and the only means they could devise was, to prevail on the Nuncio to cause the publication of the Jubilee to be delayed, by proposing to him that the grand vicars should be nominated by the Pope: a mode of proceeding which had never before been attempted in France, and which is totally subversive of the liberties of the Gallican church. But Cardinal Mazarin paid very little attention to those liberties, provided he could suppress the execution of the authority of Cardinal de Retz. He therefore dispatched a courier to Rome for that purpose, not doubting but that the proposal would be readily accepted by that court, which is ever eager to extend its power: and it was warmly seconded by the Nuncio also, who would not, at any rate, let slip so favourable an opportunity of advancing the interests of the Holy See. By the same courier, orders were sent to M. de Lyonne, to request that his Holiness would appoint a certain number of judges to enquire into the conduct of Cardinal de Retz: and in the mean time Cardinal Mazarin set every engine in motion, to prevail on the chapter to re-assume the government of the diocese. But finding all his attempts unsuccessful, he confined himself to the design of preventing the authority of the curates of the Magdalen and St. Severin from being recognized, in quality of grand vicars, till he should receive advices from Rome; being determined to use force, in case they should refuse obedience to his will: that is to say, to exile

exile them, as the first grand vicars had been, or, possibly, to put them under arrest.

For this purpose, these gentlemen were ordered to repair to court ; but Caumartin and some others of the Cardinal's friends, being apprehensive of the design of the court, prevailed on M. Chassebras, the curate of the Magdalen, in whom they most confided, to conceal himself, and to let the curate of St. Severin go thither alone. This latter suffered himself to be intimidated, and, with great weakness, promised not to act at all, or, at least, to act only in such a manner as the court should direct him : but the curate of the Magdalen, having previously concerted matters with the friends of Cardinal de Retz, caused his eminency's letter, in which he appointed him his grand vicar, to be printed and to be fixed on the gates of the churches, together with a postscript signed by himself, containing his reasons for accepting of that trust at a time when affairs were in so critical a situation. These publications greatly surprised the court, and no means were neglected to discover the persons employed to stick them up. The Abbé Fouquet, with this view, caused the officers of justice to keep constant watch in the streets during the night, to endeavour to detect those concerned in the above transactions. But his precautions proved useless, and M. Amblard, one of the domestics of Cardinal de Retz, who had taken upon himself the management of that business, discharged his commission with so much dexterity and secrecy, that he was neither discovered nor even suspected ; although these sort of publications were frequently renewed. A butcher, named Le Houx, also took part in these transactions, in which he commonly employed his servants, because the people in that branch are accustomed to repair to the city at a very early hour of the morning ; and his brother, who was the superior of the college of the Grassins, a man of learning and ingenuity, also served Cardinal de Retz in a very delicate manner, by counterfeiting his signature in cases of absolute necessity : which he did with such exactness, that it was impossible to discover the difference.

It is scarcely to be conceived how much every one admired and applauded the conduct of the curate of the Magdalen,

Magdalen, and of his secretary, who countersigned the above various publications, under the name of Guillauteau. These two men dared, in Paris itself, and setting at defiance an authority which met with no opposition, to insult the court with impunity. In order to put a stop to all further publications of this kind, which appeared to meet with a favourable reception from the people, the officers of the Châtelet were instructed to draw up an information against M. de Chassebras, and to proceed against him criminally, as being the author of several libels and seditious publications injurious to the King's authority; and he was, in consequence, proclaimed guilty of contumacy, by sound of trumpet, throughout the city of Paris, with all the usual forms. The grand vicar, on his side, caused an admonitory letter to be stuck up in the streets, in which, after having taken notice of the daily attacks which were made on the authority of the archbishop, and of the scandalous proceedings of the secular power against him (the grand vicar) although he exercised the functions of his office with all possible moderation and all due respect towards the King, he exhorted and conjured those who had done this injury to the church to solicit pardon of God, and to acknowledge their offence, in order that this his first admonition might be profitable to them, and that he might not be compelled to proceed against them with still greater rigour, according to the rules of the ecclesiastical discipline. Notwithstanding this admonition, the Châtelet issued another decree, on the 27th of September 1655, by which, for the causes assigned in the process against him, and for his disobedience to the King's commands, he was banished from the kingdom for life, his effects were confiscated, and his benefices were declared vacant and impenetrable; and all persons whatever were prohibited from harbouring, associating with him, or affording him any manner of assistance, on pain of incurring the several penalties specified in the decrees, declaring his admonitions to be scandalous, seditious, injurious to the King's authority and to the laws of the realm, and ordering them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman: which was, accordingly, executed on the very same day. The grand vicar

vicar immediately replied to this decree by another letter, in which he admonished, a second time, the authors of the persecution carried on against the church in his Majesty's name, to desist and to repent of their crimes, lest, through their obstinacy, they should become unworthy of all further indulgence, and should draw down upon themselves the ecclesiastical censures and excommunications. These letters were excellently composed, having been dictated by Messrs. De Port-Royal, and it is not to be doubted but that they would have produced a considerable effect, had matters been pushed to an interdict, as the grand vicar, Caumartin, d'Aubigni and several others advised, seeing that the majority of the curates and of the chapter had already promised their concurrence in that measure. But Cardinal de Retz could never prevail on himself to acquiesce in the proposal. The Abbé Charrier, Croissy, and the greatest part of his friends were assiduous in their endeavours to dissuade him from it, incessantly representing to him that this violent proceeding would serve only to irritate the court still more against him; that the Pope would immediately cause the interdict to be withdrawn, and that, after this, his affairs would be totally irremediable. Their opponents maintained, on the contrary, that the interdict might be attended with such sudden incidents, and of so dangerous a consequence, as to compel the court to enter into an immediate accommodation, without delaying the time to send to Rome; that, moreover, how weak soever the Pope might be, it was not probable that he would withdraw the interdict, till he should first have effected the accommodation of Cardinal de Retz, for which both his honour and his authority stood engaged, after having granted him the *Pallium*: that the Spaniards, together with all the Cardinals of their faction, would doubtless support the measure to the utmost of their power; finally, that, having begun to act thus vigorously, it would be dangerous to leave matters in the state in which they now were, and that the court of Rome, observing the supineness of the Cardinal and the small power of his friends, would the more readily comply with the very advantageous pro-

posals of the court of France, to nominate apostolic vicars or a coadjutor.

Not that M. de Lyonne gained much ground in his negotiations on that head, nor with respect to his urgent request, that judges might be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Cardinal de Retz ; his Holiness having judged it sufficient to institute an assembly, to whose consideration he referred these proposals and demands, in order to gain time, and the more easily to elude the envoy's applications : and that assembly had reported, that the required appointment of the judges could not take place, till Cardinal de Retz should first be reinstated in the full possession of all his rights, according to the maxim, *Spoliatus ante omnia restituendus*. After this, Cardinal de Retz having declared his intention to exhibit an accusation against Cardinal Mazarin, and to prove him guilty of several crimes and misdemeanours, the assembly seemed inclined to receive that accusation : by which means matters were kept in a state of suspense.

But Cardinal de Retz, having remarked a great change in the conduct and in the language of the Pope, suddenly passed from one extreme to the other, from the most implicit confidence to an equal degree of distrust : for which reason, fearing that the Pope might abandon him entirely, in case the siege of Pavia should succeed, and might compel him to an immediate acquiescence with the will of the court, without giving him time to recollect himself, he demanded leave of his Holiness to go to the baths at Saint Cassien, in the territories of the Grand Duke. These baths had been recommended to him by his physicians for the hurt in his shoulder. His request was granted without any difficulty, the Pope beginning to be weary of his presence and of his solicitations.

After continuing a month at Saint Cassien, the baths of which place did him very little service, the Cardinal went to spend another month at Caprarolles, a country seat belonging to the Duke of Parma, situated in the ecclesiastical territories, where he waited the approach of the rainy season, till when it is dangerous to repair to Rome. He there learnt that the chamber of vacations, in consequence of an application from the attorney

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ney general, had issued an edict against the last admonitory letter of the curate of the Magdalen, enjoining the provost of Paris, or his lieutenants civil and criminal to draw up informations against the authors of those letters, and forbidding, on pain of death, all persons whatever to print, publish, or fix up in the streets any similar writing, without leave of the court. This edict was not put to the vote, in the customary manner, and it was signed solely by the President de Novion and the (*rapporteur*) reporter. But, as at Rome no notice was taken of this informality, it was considered as an edict of the whole parliament, and produced a great effect in that city, because the authority of that assembly is highly revered there, they frequently opposing the designs of the Pope, and annulling the pretensions of the court of Rome. The Pope, therefore, began to entertain an opinion that the credit of Cardinal de Retz's party was but low in France; that the Parliament would not oppose his nomination of a suffragan, to conduct the affairs of the diocese, and that he should thereby do a sensible pleasure to the court, who continually pressed him on the subject, by the agency of M. de Lyonne. The Jesuits, also, were very urgent with him to take that step, incessantly representing to him, that Cardinal de Retz was a man totally devoted to the Jansenists, and that his Holiness would never meet with so favourable an opportunity of extending his pontifical authority, even with the general approbation of the whole kingdom of France.

These suggestions, however, although very conformable to the Pope's inclinations, could not induce him to determine on the measure, because the siege of Pavia had been lately raised, which gave his Holiness fresh courage, and caused him to express himself in a more favourable manner to the Abbé Charrier, who instantly departed for Caprarolles, in order to persuade Cardinal de Retz to return to Rome; adding that this was the advice of Croissy, who had told him that M. de Lyonne expected to obtain nothing further from the Pope against him.

Joli maintained, on the other hand, that it was necessary that his eminency should return towards Paris,

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in order to support the curate of the Magdalen, and to fulminate an interdict; that this was the sole method to bring the court to terms; that the see of Rome would never do any thing for his service, unless he made use of his own power also, in profiting of the general zeal of the people, which would not always last; and that he ought not to be dispirited by an edict of the chamber of vacations, which had been issued by one of his avowed enemies, and which the president de Bellièvre would, doubtless, easily be enabled to remedy at the next meeting of the parliament, he being so well disposed to promote the interests of Cardinal de Retz. However, the Cardinal determined to return to Rome, and even to appear there with greater *éclat* than he had hitherto done, having, for that purpose, caused a very magnificent palace to be furnished for his use at Campo-Marzio, and having augmented the number of his carriages and of his attendants, therein indulging the natural vanity of his disposition. He imagined that the world would judge of his resources and of his credit by his manner of living at Rome: but he did not depart, in the least, from his usual mode of conduct, amusing himself with inveighing to no purpose against M. de Lyonne, and passing part of the nights in conferring with the Abbé Charrier, Croissy, and young Fouquet, who entertained him with idle stories and vain hopes, founded on the Pope's good intentions towards him, and who obliged him, at length, to write to Caumartin, to prevent the curate of the Magdalen from proceeding to an interdict.

Those two gentlemen obeyed: but they acted, some time afterwards, with a vigour and authority, the success of which plainly demonstrated, that they might, on this occasion, also, have safely carried matters to a far greater length. The archbishop of Rouen furnished them with the first opportunity of thus exerting themselves, by publishing an interdiction against the bishop of Coutance, in consequence of his having executed the episcopal functions in the diocese of Rouen: which induced the curate of the Magdalen to issue a similar mandate, in the name of Cardinal de Retz, by which it was declared that Anthony-Denis Cochon, bishop of Dol, and Claud Auvry, bishop of Coutance, had incurred

and to curred the censures of the church, by conferring holy orders in his diocese, without his permission, and that they were, therefore, prohibited from exercising any ecclesiastical functions whatever, even from celebrating mass, in the diocese of Paris; and all deans, chapters, curates, and communities, both secular and regular, were strictly enjoined not to permit them to officiate in their churches. Another opportunity offered, of a more important nature, for publicly exercising the authority of Cardinal de Retz. This was on occasion of the assembly of the clergy, which was intended to be held at Paris that year, and which Cardinal Mazarin had repeatedly put off, under different pretexts, because it could not be regularly convened, but with the consent of Cardinal de Retz, or of his grand vicars. But, the curate of the Magdalen having learnt that it was designed to open the assembly without his concurrence, he prohibited the clergy from assembling, without leave first obtained from the archbishop or from him, and forbade the community of Augustine friars, at whose convent they were accustomed to meet, to admit the deputies: protesting beforehand against every proceeding of that assembly which might be injurious to the authority of Cardinal de Retz, as being of itself null and void. This declaration was strongly supported by the whole body of the curates of the city, who entered into a similar protest, and sent deputies on the occasion to those who were to compose the assembly: insomuch that those gentlemen, deeming the above prohibitions and protests to be legal and valid, waited on Cardinal Mazarin, and acquainted him that they could not, under these circumstances, proceed to assemble: and, as the court stood in great need of money, they were obliged to have recourse to the curate of St. Severin, the other grand vicar, to open the assembly; thereby solemnly recognizing the authority of Cardinal de Retz. From hence it plainly appears that, had he acted in the full extent of his power, and supported the curate of the Magdalen, he would have set his affairs on a better footing in France, where every one was well disposed to his cause, and at Rome, where the Pope would not have been displeased to have seen embarrassments of that nature

nature arise, which he would have been able to have turned to his advantage.

But, as the Cardinal could not be prevailed on to take any vigorous resolution, and contented himself with keeping on the defensive, M. de Lyonne, the Jesuits, and his other enemies found it no difficult matter to detach the Pope from his interests, by representing to him the weakness of his party, his connection with the Jansenists, the formidable power of his adversaries; and that should he continue his protection to him, his Holiness might be assured, that he would be excluded from a share in the general peace, which already began to be talked of: an event which the Pope dreaded above all others.

All these considerations, at length, determined the Holy Father what conduct to pursue, and, a few days after the return of Cardinal de Retz to Rome, he declared to him, that, finding his power insufficient to support him any longer, he would recommend it to him to accommodate his affairs, and to yield in part to the wishes of the court of France; that he himself had the strongest reasons for endeavouring to conciliate the favour, and avoiding to give a direct offence to that court, as he sought to dispose the two crowns to a solid peace, which was an advantage to be preferred before every other consideration whatsoever. He concluded with pressing him in the most earnest manner, to comply with what he proposed, which so much surprized and confounded the Cardinal, that he would have retired from the city immediately, being apprehensive that matters might be carried to the last extremities against him, and that he might be sent to the castle of St. Angelo, should he refuse to submit to the conditions which were to be prescribed to him at the next consistory. But the Abbé Charrier, the Abbé Lamet and Joli having represented to him, that he neither ought nor could recede, after having proceeded thus far, he resolved to maintain his ground, and to abide the event. However, before he went to the consistory he ordered Joli to lock up all his papers, which shewed his distrust, and his apprehensions of being seized; which notion was particularly suggested to him by the Abbé Charrier, although he was obliged, more than any one

have turne^d himself, to encourage him, thereby to assist him in extricating himself from the difficulties into which he had plunged him by his imprudent counsels: whereas the Abbé Lamet and Joli, who had always foreseen that the Pope would abandon him in the end, exerted all their endeavours to inspire him with confidence and to diminish his fears, which must have proved his destruction, had he given himself up to their influence.

At length, when he came to the consistory, the Pope frankly declared to him, that he had nominated a suffragan, to govern the diocese of Paris during his absence, which determination Cardinal de Retz in vain endeavoured to induce him to retract. The Pope continued firm in his resolution, as did also Cardinal Rospigliosi, the secretary of state, to whom Cardinal de Retz applied himself, after the breaking up of the consistory, requesting that the execution of the design might be at least suspended, without any effect; after which he returned home in great agitation of mind. But Joli, whom he sent for immediately, strove to revive his courage, by representing to him, that this nomination would never be admitted in France; that all the bishops would oppose it, seeing that their interests were equally concerned therein with his; that the parliaments would never allow of a precedent of this kind, so injurious to the liberties of the Gallican church; that it would be necessary for him to set a good face on the matter, and to tell those who should come to condole with him on the subject, that he was more concerned for his Holiness's quiet than for his own private interest, being persuaded that his nomination would not take place, and that he would be obliged to retract it; finally, that it was requisite, without loss of time, to dispatch a courier to Paris before that of the Pope, to give his friends notice to regulate their measures accordingly with the bishops and the parliament. These arguments in part dispelled the Cardinal's fears, and he immediately dispatched Imbert, his valet de chambre, to Genoa, with orders to deliver the packet which was given him into the hands of a trusty merchant of that city, who was instructed to send a courier with it, in all haste, to Paris under the pretext of some business. It was judged necessary to use this precaution, to insure the safety

safety of the dispatches, which might otherwise have been intercepted by order of the court, had the courier appeared to come directly from Rome ; and that expedient had all the success which had been expected from it. For the courier from Cardinal de Retz having arrived at Paris two or three days before the Pope's messenger, his eminency's friends concerted their measures with so much judgment, that upon the very first proposal that was made, in the assembly of the clergy, for the establishment of a suffragan, the whole assembly opposed it so unanimously and with such vehemence, that the Nuncio dared not produce his brief,* and was obliged to send it back to the Pope, acquainting him, that he had ran great risque of being stoned by the people, upon the bare report of such a design being in agitation. The parliament acted with no less vigour on the occasion, the attorney and the advocates-general having loudly declared that, if the brief should be presented, they would protest against it as an innovation. The first President, with a majority of the members, appeared to be inclined to annul it, or, at least, to prevent the execution of it : and, what is still more astonishing, the bishop of Meux, brother of the Chancellor Seguier, whom the court had destined to the office of suffragan, absolutely refused to take upon him that post, being unwilling to expose himself to the hatred of the public ; although he was, both personally, and in consequence of his brother's connections, closely attached to the court.

It even happened, in the sequel, that Cardinal Mazarin became as averse to the brief as the rest ; whether it was on account of the universal dissatisfaction which he perceived it had created amongst the people and the clergy, or, perhaps, because it was not altogether disadvantageous to Cardinal de Retz, as he was therein entitled Archbishop of Paris, and as the Pope alledged no other reasons for that nomination, than his absence from his diocese.

The brief having, therefore, been rejected on all sides, the friends of Cardinal de Retz did not neglect to give him

* The Pope's letter, containing the nomination of the suffragan.

him instant intelligence of the event, by the same means, and with the like precautions as had been used before ; so that he received his dispatches several days before those for the Pope and M. de Lyonne arrived, and he had the pleasure of triumphing in his turn, and of insulting those who imagined they should have obtained great advantages over him.

It was about this time that Queen Christini came to Rome. She had been invited thither by his Holiness, to confirm, in a more solemn manner, her abjuration of the heretical tenets of Luther. An action of this nature, ought doubtless to have been accompanied with all the exterior marks of seriousness and gravity : but the Pope, giving a loose to his natural disposition, converted the whole into a kind of theatrical exhibition, composed of feasts, pomp, trifles and idle ceremonies. He neglected nothing which had the least tendency to pomp and magnificence ; imagining that this was the proper method to make himself appear in the eyes of all Europe as principal director of the ceremony. Nothing was to be seen but treats, feasts, balls, plays, carousals, masquerades and gallantries of every kind, for the space of upwards of three months, and the Pope himself issued the necessary orders with so much attention, and caused them to be executed with such magnificence, that the Queen of Sweden herself made a jest of the whole matter, and turned his Holiness into ridicule, as did every person of sense, plainly perceiving that he departed from his character on the occasion. Cardinal de Retz exerted all his endeavours to insinuate himself into the favour of that Princess, in which he succeeded tolerably well at first, but not altogether so well as Cardinal Azolini or Pimentel. He, however, would gladly have induced an opinion that he possessed as large a share of her good graces as any one else, but those who were accustomed to examine more closely into matters, rightly judged that his pretensions had little other foundation than in his own vanity. The Cardinal, giving way to his natural disposition, employed his whole time in the execution of this design, totally neglecting all his other affairs : till he was roused from his lethargy by a fresh proposal, which M. de Lyonne, by order of the court, made to his Holiness,

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to nominate to the office of grand vicar one of the following persons, viz. the dean of Notre-Dame, Charton, the penitentiary, M. du Saussay, curate of Leu and official of the diocese of Paris, who had been lately nominated to the bishopric of Toul, M. Rouillé, curate of St. Bartholomew, or Messrs. Monand Cornet, doctors of the Sorbonne. The court prevailed on the bishops, who were suffragans of the archbishopric of Paris, to write to Cardinal de Retz, pressing him to accept of this proposal, as being both reasonable and advantageous to him, since at the same time that it tended to restore tranquillity to his diocese, it also included a tacit acknowledgment of his authority.

The Pope backed this proposal from the court with his whole influence. After having caused all the friends of Cardinal de Retz to speak to him on the subject, he lastly spoke to him himself, in terms of a request, particularly recommending to his choice M. du Saussay, to whom his Holiness declared that he would be responsible and would engage that he should conduct himself in every manner to his satisfaction, and that he should strictly conform to all his orders. Otherwise he promised to revoke his nomination, and to do, afterwards, whatever the Cardinal should require of him, pledging himself to support and protect him with all the authority of the Holy See. At least this is what Cardinal de Retz declared to his friends, whose sentiments were divided respecting that proposal. The Abbé Charrier and M. de Croissy did not hesitate a moment to pronounce it as their opinion, that it was requisite that the Cardinal should comply with the wishes of the court and of the Pope, alledging as their reasons, that it was of the utmost consequence to keep fair with the suffragan bishops, in order to secure their services on future occasions, and that, before any such things, his eminency ought to exert himself, to manifest his authority over the spiritualities: after which he might easily effect his re-establishment in his temporal rights.

Joli was of a different opinion, and, although he concurred in the nomination of M. du Saussay, he maintained that some real and immediate advantages ought to be drawn from the confusion of the Pope, on account of the refusal of his brief, from the applications of the court

of the and from the favourable disposition of the clergy: that
 Dame, the re-establishment of the Cardinal's spiritual authority
 rate of S was no longer, properly, the matter in question, seeing
 had be that the curate of St. Severin, whom Cardinal de Retz
 l, M. had appointed his grand vicar, had been received in that
 rs. Mo equality in the general assembly of the clergy; that the
 ourt ev nomination of a second grand vicar could answer no
 ns of t further purpose in that respect, and that it was a finished
 e Retz, affair; that it was, therefore, necessary to push matters
 both re further, and to proceed to the effectual re-establishment
 same ti of the temporalities, without trusting to distant and un-
 ese, it a certain hopes, by inserting a clause in the act of nomina-
 ity. tion of M. du Saussay, enjoining the said M. du S. not
 ourt wi to enter upon the execution of his functions, till Cardinal
 he frien de Retz should first be restored to the temporal rights of
 uest, his office. The Abbé Lamet, in the beginning, sided
 est, part with Joli, both of them grounding their opinion on the
 aussy, ad vices which were continually received from Paris, and
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 mself in body of the clergy to be in the highest degree favourable,
 old strid and that, if the Cardinal would, on their account, con-
 sisted to sent to nominate a grand vicar whom the court should ap-
 whate prove of, it was not to be doubted, but that they would
 himself make it a point, to procure him full satisfaction in all
 ty of t other respects: from whence they (the Abbé and Joli)
 etz decl concluded, that it would be necessary to make use of this
 ed respec favourable occurrence, and to prevail on the assembly to
 de Cro press the matter home, during the embarrassment to
 heir opin which the want of legal government in the diocese had
 ld comp given rise, and that, should the Cardinal grant the re-
 alledginq requested nomination of a grand vicar free of all condi-
 nsequenc ons, the affair would drop of itself, and their (the cler-
 e to secur gy's) good intentions would be dissipated together with the
 before a assembly, for want of proper care to turn them to advantage.
 o manife But at last the Abbé Lamet having given up his opini-
 a he migh on, because he had not resolution to contend with and
 l rights, directly to oppose the sentiments of Cardinal de Retz,
 gh he con who had declared himself in favour of the first ad-
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 ght to M. du Saussay, without annexing any kind of condition
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However, Joli, judging the matter to be of the utmost importance, and that should this favourable opportunity be neglected, the like might never offer again, exerted himself afresh, to prevail on the Cardinal to send, at least, the act of nomination to the bishop of Châlons, with instructions to shew it to the assembly, but to declare, at the same time, that he should not put it in force, till the Cardinal should be reinstated in the possession of his temporalities. But this last expedient was no better approved of than the first, and his eminency contented himself with the vain hopes of the Pope's sollicitations in his behalf, and of the good offices of the clergy.

A courier was, therefore, dispatched with the Pope's orders, and the instructions from the Cardinal de Retz, which were addressed to the bishops, suffragans of the archbishopric of Paris, together with the act of nomination, and three letters, which he desired might be presented to the King, to the Queen, and to the assembly of the clergy. These three letters were suppressed, because, the suffragans having thought proper to put them into the hands of Cardinal Mazarin, he kept them a long time, after which he sent them back to M. de Lyonne, to be re-delivered to Cardinal de Retz, acquainting him, that their Majesties would neither open those which were addressed to them, nor suffer that to be presented which was intended for the assembly of the clergy. Thus, nothing but the act of nomination appeared, and, in virtue of that act, M. du Sauffay immediately took possession of his office of grand vicar, and entered upon the government of the diocese, where all things, in consequence, remained quiet for some time, as also at Rome. Cardinal de Retz took this opportunity to have a second operation performed upon his shoulder, by a man who boasted that he would make a cure of it, and who had the reputation of being very skilful in his profession. It must be acknowledged, that after this operation he was able to use his arm more freely than he had hitherto done.

In the mean time, the Cardinal and his friends continued in daily expectation of receiving intelligence of the services, which they had promised themselves from the assembly

assembly of the clergy; but they quickly perceived that those gentlemen had totally forgot the interests of their archbishop after having obtained from him what they desired. The new grand vicar, also, acted in the same manner, with this difference only, that M. du Saussay, not contented with doing no one single act of all that had been expected from him, even affected to set himself in direct opposition, on every occasion to the Cardinal's interests: which appeared chiefly in three important instances.

The first was on occasion of an order, which his eminency sent to him, to take in his name and as his procurator, the oath of fidelity, in order to remove every obstacle to the restitution of the temporalities, which could no longer be withheld but under that pretext. This M. du Saussay refused to do. He even refused to issue any public declaration, whereby it might appear that he had attended in due form, to take the above oath.

The second was with respect to the publication of the bull for the Jubilee, which had been put off from time to time, during the disputes relative to the government of the diocese. This was an affair in which it seemed impossible that any obstacle should arise; but M. du Saussay thought proper to start a difficulty merely through wantonness, without the least shadow of reason, and with the sole view of prejudicing the interests of Cardinal de Retz, by assuming, in the act of publication, the title of grand vicar of the archbishopric, instead of that of grand vicar of the archbishop; which would have been of infinite consequence, had it been suffered to pass unnoticed: but the chapter fortunately discovered the innovation and vigorously opposed it, causing the proper alteration to be made in the act, by erasing this new title, which could, of right, belong to them, alone, during the vacancy of the see.

The third instance in which M. du Saussay manifested his evil intentions was, in granting permission to the bishop of Coutance to confer orders, and to execute the other episcopal functions during the Holy Week, although that prelate had been interdicted by Cardinal de Retz and by the curate of the Magdalen, his grand vicar.

vicar. This induced a considerable number of the canons to absent themselves from the service, which was performed, as usual on Holy Thursday ; and, the people having remarked this circumstance, it gave much offence, particularly as the bishop was taken ill during the ceremony of consecrating the oils, and in celebrating the Mass, which he went through with great difficulty, after the attendants had been repeatedly obliged to throw water in his face, and to rub his nose and temples with wine, to prevent his swooning. Every one considered this accident as a punishment from heaven, and as a warning to the authors of this innovation.

All these circumstances, it might have been imagined, would have induced Cardinal de Retz to have revoked the nomination of M. du Saussay, as he was strongly urged to do by the major part of his friends. He, however, chose rather to wait with patience, and to prefer his complaints, in an humble manner, to the Pope : more especially, as there were not wanting persons, who endeavoured to put a favourable construction on the conduct of M. du Saussay, observing that all that he could have done, with respect to the oath of fidelity, would have served only to irritate the court ; that the title of grand vicar of the archbishopric, which he had assumed, interested the chapter alone, and by no means the archbishop ; that the permission which he had granted to the bishop of Coutance, to officiate, in his episcopal character, in the diocese of Paris, had led him to recognize the Cardinal's authority, in the very place where he had formerly appeared to contemn it ; that, after all, lenient measures alone would have any effect with the court ; that M. du Saussay could not at first do all that he might be inclined to do for his eminency's service ; and that, by his moderate and prudent conduct, he had already obtained the recal of Messrs. Chevalier and l'Avocat, the first grand vicars, and of all the other ecclesiastics, who had been exiled in consequence of their connections with Cardinal de Retz.

In spite of all these arguments, however, his eminency was, in his heart, violently offended at the conduct of his new grand vicar, which he clearly perceived

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was but an artifice : but he determined to dissemble his resentment for a season, with the view of waiting the event of a brief, which his Holiness had sent, some short time before, to the assembly of the clergy, on the subject of the general peace, to exhort the King to procure that blessing to the whole christian world. No mention whatever was made therein of Cardinal Mazarin ; but, without naming him, the whole tenor of the brief sufficiently demonstrated, that his Holiness judged him to be little inclined to peace. In speaking of the King, these terms were made use of : *alioquin perse ad pacem propensum* : which it was supposed would not prove agreeable to that minister, and that he would certainly manifest his resentment, in a manner which would give great offence to the Pope. In fact Cardinal Mazarin was highly displeased with the terms of the brief, and, to shew the court of Rome that he perfectly understood them, he prevailed on the assembly to justify him in their answer, which those gentlemen did with such exactness, that all their letters were wholly filled with the good intentions of his eminency towards a peace, the measures which he had already taken, and the earnestness with which he constantly exerted himself, to accomplish that great work. That answer met with a very unfavourable reception from the Pope, and as, at the same time, intelligence was brought to Rome of the treaty which France had entered into with Cromwell, it was expected that his Holiness would have given some open testimony of his displeasure : but the public found themselves deceived in that respect, and, M. de Lyonne having been recalled soon afterwards, this new measure greatly augmented the uneasiness of the Holy Father, who began to be apprehensive that France intended to drop all connection whatever with him, and to devote herself entirely to the prosecution of the war in Italy. This caused his Holiness to yield himself up to all the natural weakness of his disposition, and he would no longer listen to any proposals concerning Cardinal de Retz, but what might tend to plunge him in utter ruin and destruction, had it been possible.

The arrival of Don Mario, the Pope's brother, and of his nephews, contributed to confirm him in this unfavourable

favourable disposition towards the Cardinal. Those gentlemen had, at length been sent for to Rome by his Holiness, and had made their entry with a kind of triumph. The Holy Father had long dissembled upon that subject, having suffered himself to be earnestly solicited to adopt the measure by the Queen of Sweden, and by all the Cardinals, from whom he required their sentiments in writing, as if his weakness could possibly have been extenuated by that of his courtiers, who well knew that they could give him no other advice, without drawing upon themselves his displeasure. Be that as it may, it is certain that this change proved very disadvantageous to the affairs of Cardinal de Retz, because the relations of the Pope, who were solely occupied with the thoughts of establishing their fortune, carefully avoided espousing the interests of an unfortunate Cardinal, and whom almost every one seemed to have abandoned, thereby to expose themselves to the indignation of the court of France. In the mean time, as Cardinal de Retz had plainly perceived this change, and was fully convinced that he had nothing further to expect from that quarter; knowing, moreover, that M. du Sauffay continued to pursue a conduct, which must in the end prove the total destruction of his affairs; the Cardinal, I say, determined to proceed immediately to the act of revocation, without communicating his design to the Pope, who would, doubtless, have dissuaded him from it. With this view, he once more demanded permission of his Holiness to go to the baths of Saint Cassien, under the former pretext of the hurt in his shoulder, to wait there, with greater tranquillity, till he should receive intelligence of the effects which that revocation should produce at Paris, and also at Rome, where he did not think it prudent to continue any longer exposed to the caprices and to the bad humour of the Pope. He was further induced to adopt this design by the consideration that the plague raged at Naples, and that it began to approach towards Rome, from whence he retired a few days after the departure of M. de Lyonne, and after having expedited the act of revocation.

This act was conceived in terms sufficiently honourable with respect to M. du Sauffay; but it was very positive

positive and expressly prohibited him from intermeddling, in any shape, in the government of the diocese, either in the quality of grand vicar, or in that of official, the functions of which post he had executed ever since the time of the first archbishop. The Cardinal again appointed Messrs. Chevalier and l'Avocat, together with the curates of the Magdalen and of St. Severin to be his grand vicars, and for official M. Joli, a canon of Notre-Dame, and M. Porcher, one of the doctors of the Sorbonne, to the office of vicerent: the act was not only duly notified to M. du Saussay, but was also fixed up at the corners of all the streets, that no one might pretend to be ignorant of its contents. Thus M. du Saussay could not dispense with paying obedience to it; and as his [*bulles*] letters of induction to the bishopric of Toul had been already expedited, he applied to the bishops of Chartres and of Meaux, to perform the ceremony of his consecration at St. Dennis. But, those gentlemen having represented to him, that they could not take upon themselves to act on the occasion, without leave from the archbishop, or from his grand vicars, he was obliged to have recourse to M. Chevalier, who did not suffer him to reiterate his request, being very glad to have an opportunity, by his submission, to establish Cardinal de Retz's and his own authority; and making no doubt, but that the court would approve a step, which he had been induced to take solely at the request of a person, whom they protected and esteemed.

But, intelligence of this affair having been given to the court, he was immediately ordered to appear before the chancellor, who very severely reprimanded him for his temerity, in continuing to execute the functions of a grand vicar; and, upon retiring, he was taken into custody and was conducted to the Bastile, where, for a long time, he experienced the most rigorous treatment. The court, or rather Cardinal Mazarin, did not stop here, and they suffered their resentment to carry them so far, as even to prevent the effect of the permission granted by the grand vicar, by obliging M. du Saussay to go to Poissy to be consecrated, which place is in the diocese of Chartres. The fear of a similar treatment

compelled M. l'Avocat to retire from the city in all haste ; so that, in consequence of his retreat, the whole government of the diocese once more devolved upon the curate of St. Severin, who was the only person whom the court permitted to execute the office of grand vicar, and that too with no small difficulty : Cardinal Mazarin, on all occasions, complying with the utmost unwillingness with every proposal which appeared to be for the benefit of Cardinal de Retz.

When the news of this revocation was brought to Rome, the Pope was highly irritated at the proceeding : and, although the plague had obliged him to retire to Monte Cavallo, where he saw scarcely any company, and where he would not suffer any one to speak to him of public affairs ; he, nevertheless, dispatched a courier to Cardinal de Retz, who still continued at St. Cassien, ordering him to reinstate M. du Saussay, in compliance with the earnest solicitations of the court on that head. This order served to convince Cardinal de Retz that he had nothing further to expect from the court of Rome : as he was much dissatisfied with that court on other accounts, as the plague raged at Rome with great violence, and as he was no longer able to support the same appearance there as he had hitherto done, for want of a fund, he, at length, determined to retire from Italy : and, after having sent a person to Florence, to concert secretly with the Bailly de Gondy the necessary preparations for his journey into the dominions of the Grand Duke, he retired at first to a private house, called Maresme, where he remained for some days, with his whole retinue.

It was from hence that he wrote to the Pope, representing to him that the present state of affairs in his diocese required that he should return towards Paris, in order that he might be nearer at hand, to remedy the disorders which had arisen from his absence ; that he should always depend on his protection against the persecutions of his enemies, and against the violences offered to his person and to the church ; that, moreover, he thought himself bound to release his Holiness from the importunities to which he was daily subjected on his behalf, and to spare him a part of the embarrassment
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and uneasiness which he must experience on that account. After this, Cardinal de Retz dispatched the Abbé Lamet and Joli before, and set out from Maresme, during the night, on his journey to a country seat belonging to Cardinal John Charles de Medicis, taking with him only Malclerc and two of his valets, the better to conceal his rout. Immediately upon his arrival at that seat, the Bailly de Gondy waited on him, and brought him intelligence that the siege of Valenciennes had been raised by the prince of Condé, who had forced the besiegers in their entrenchments: which gave him hopes of better success in his journey, and increased the confidence of the grand Duke and of the Cardinals de Medicis, who, but for this circumstance, would apparently have been not a little embarrassed by his retreat. He continued two days at this place, whither he sent for Croissy, who had remained at Florence, having accompanied M. de Lyonne so far on his road, and not daring to return to Rome on account of the plague. The Bailly de Gondy, observing that the Cardinal confided in this man, and had entrusted him with the secret design of his journey, and with his intention of going to Bezancon, warned his eminency to be on his guard against him: he would never explain the reasons which induced him to give the Cardinal this caution, but Joli judged that, as superintendant of the Grand Duke's posts, he might, according to the custom of all courts, who are willing to gain a knowledge of every thing that passes, have intercepted some of the dispatches of Croissy, by which he had discovered the treachery of that gentleman towards the Cardinal. This intimation, however, had no effect upon him, and he still abandoned himself to the guidance of this man, in the same manner as he had before done at Rome. After this, he pursued his journey, directing his course towards Petremoly, with his small retinue, and, having passed through the district of Massa, he arrived in the Milaneze, travelling with a passport from the Count de Fuenfaldagne, who sent him also an escort of fifty horse. That governor would gladly have done something more for him, and he was very assiduous in sounding Malclerc on that subject, observing that his eminency ought to repair directly to

the prince of Condé, in Flanders, to concert such measures with him as might be for their mutual advantage ; and that, should he decline to follow this advice, he would be no longer able to support his credit, and would find himself abandoned by all the world. This was also the opinion of Joli, who had already earnestly exhorted him not to let this opportunity slip, as he had formerly done, at the time of his journey through Spain, and to enter into treaty with the Count de Fuenfaldagne : but the Cardinal wanted courage to adopt this measure, although, at his departure from Rome, he had appeared to be very well disposed to it, and, throughout the whole journey, had affected to declare upon every occasion, that he was determined to unite himself with the Spaniards and the prince of Condé.

However, as it was requisite that he should part on good terms with the Count, he demanded a cypher of him, and caused Malclerc to tell him that he intended to follow his advice ; that he had no other view in quitting Italy ; and that, after having continued for a short time at Bezancon, till he should receive intelligence from his friends, he would direct his course to Flanders. He requested letters from him to the governor of Franche-Comté, after which Cardinal de Retz pursued his journey with his escort : and, having passed within two leagues of Milan and eight of Valence, which was at that time besieged, he arrived on the banks of the lake, where he embarked for Mourgues, and from thence continued his journey, by the rout of Valley and Lauzanes, to Bezancon, which place he reached towards the latter end of the month of August, in the year 1656.

Immediately upon the Cardinal's arrival in Franche-Comté, he made enquiry for the Abbé de Varreville, whom he had formerly met with at St. Sebastian's, at the palace of the Baron, his brother ; and, having learnt, in passing through Pontarlier, that he was at a place at but a small distance from thence, called Usains, he sent Malclerc thither, to request that the Abbé would procure him an asylum, where he might remain till he could receive intelligence of the state of his affairs at Paris. The Abbé de Lamet and Joli went to Bezancon.

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The Abbé de Vatteville was, at first, not a little surprised, and even embarrassed by this application from the Cardinal, having but little credit in that country, although he earnestly sought to induce an opinion of the contrary. Indeed his whole behaviour, in the beginning, plainly shewed that he would gladly have been excused from complying with his eminency's request. But reflecting, afterwards, that this might prove the means of recommending him to the favour of the court of Spain, he obtained a retreat for him at the house of the Marchioness de Conflans, his relation, whose husband was at that time in Flanders. He did not so strictly confine himself to this abode, but that he made several excursions, to different parts of the country, during the term of some months. It is true that he returned from time to time to the house of the Marchioness, to whom, in the sequel, and according to his usual custom, he communicated a considerable part of the adventures of his life.

In the mean time, the Abbé de Lamet and Joli continued at Bezancon, at which place some of the Cardinal's attendants arrived soon afterwards, whom he had left in Italy, and to whom he had given orders to repair to Strasbourg and divers other places, where they were to wait for his arrival. M. Verjus was one of the first who, by accident, came to Bezancon; and Joli, having seen him pass by the door of the inn at which he lodged, stopped and detained him, judging him to be the properest person whatever to be sent to Paris to acquire intelligence: of which the Cardinal having approved, he was immediately dispatched thither. He executed his commission with so much diligence, that in a few days information was received from him, that Cardinal Mazarin had manifested much uneasiness on occasion of the departure of Cardinal de Retz from Italy; that he had caused a proclamation to be issued, whereby all persons were prohibited from giving him shelter; that he exerted all his endeavours to procure the re-establishment of M. du Saussay; that the assembly of the clergy opposed it, as tending to revive the former contest relative to a suffragan, but that they had determined to request Cardinal de Retz to nominate such grand vicars as should be agreeable to the King.

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promising to employ themselves afterwards to obtain the restitution of his temporalities; that the bishop of Châlons did not doubt but that they would fulfil this promise, and answered in a manner for the success; that the Count de Montresor and several others were of his (the bishop's) opinion, insisting that the Cardinal ought to conform to the wishes of the court in the nomination of a new grand vicar, and that if that affair was not regulated soon, there was reason to apprehend that the court would proceed, of their own authority, to appoint a person to execute the functions of that office, notwithstanding that M. d'Aubigny and some others of the Cardinal's friends opposed this advice, and that it had been represented to the Count and the rest who joined in his sentiments, that his eminency was very averse to the measure.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Cardinal de Retz immediately wrote to the bishop of Châlons, to inform him more fully of his intentions, and to dissuade him from the above resolution: but scarcely had the letters been dispatched, before the news arrived by the post, that the bishop had of his own authority, caused an instrument to be drawn up in due form, by the person who was employed occasionally to counterfeit his eminency's hand writing, appointing the dean of Notre-Dame to the office of grand vicar, together with a letter from Cardinal de Retz, fabricated in the same manner, to the assembly of the clergy, in which he requested them to intercede with his Majesty for the restitution of his temporalities. This letter was dated from Pleffis, two days only before its delivery: from whence Cardinal Mazarin concluded that Cardinal de Retz was very near at hand. This circumstance alarmed the court to that degree, that they instantly sent a letter de cachet to the assembly, in which his Majesty declared, that he would not give ear to any solicitations respecting the temporalities of the archbishopric, although he had consented to the re-establishment of the spiritualities, merely in compliance with their request: seeing that an application had been actually made to the Pope, to appoint a number of judges to determine upon the charges instituted against Cardinal de Retz, and who would take into consideration whether he ought to be reinstated, or not, in the temporalities, whilst the process should

should be still depending. Advice was afterwards received that the assembly of the clergy had acted in a manner directly contrary to what the bishop of Châlons had expected, for which he apologized, by declaring that he had been deceived himself, and that he imagined that he had secured a sufficient number of suffrages to carry his point. In fact, the matter was strongly contested, and had it been decided by a majority of voices, it would, without the least difficulty, have passed in favour of the Cardinal. But the custom of that company being to vote by provinces, it happened that that of Paris, which, on every account, ought to have espoused his cause, declared against him: so that, out of eleven provinces, there were five only which sided with him.

In reality, the project of the bishop of Châlons was not so much to the advantage of Cardinal de Retz as it was imagined to be: his proposal being only, that the assembly should exert themselves in behalf of his eminency, to procure him the restitution of his temporalities, when a favourable opportunity should offer; and that, in the mean time, they should present the most humble remonstrances to the King, requesting permission to lay before him their sentiments on this and all the other affairs which related to the church. To judge rightly of the matter, the other proposition, which was adopted by the assembly, was much better digested, and, perhaps, more advantageous: and indeed it had been concerted by persons of greater abilities than the bishop of Châlons, although, perhaps, more maliciously disposed, amongst others by M. de Marca, the archbishop of Toulouze. The purport of it was, that the King should be humbly solicited, to cause this affair of Cardinal de Retz to be terminated in the course of six months, by ecclesiastical judges, to be appointed for that purpose, who should begin with taking into consideration the seizure of the temporalities of his archbishopric and of his other benefices; and, in case that the business should be spun out to a great length, that the agents of the clergy should make the proper applications to the King, to cause the necessary regulations to be made respecting the temporalities, conformable to the canonical laws and constitutions,

tutions, and to the privileges and liberties of the Gallican church.

It must, at least, be acknowledged that this resolution wore a specious appearance, and seemed in the main conformable to the established rules, although it was, in fact, very disadvantageous to Cardinal de Retz, seeing that all the good offices of the assembly terminated in a process, the judges of which would, in all probability, be totally devoted to the court, and that, should that measure be found insufficient to answer the proposed design, the matter should afterwards be referred to the agents of the clergy, persons who are commonly the mere slaves of the court, who solicit that office solely with the view of establishing their fortune, and who, moreover, have very little credit, at any other time than when the assembly is sitting. Cardinal de Retz appeared to be much affected with the news of the process, with which he was menaced by this determination of the assembly, and of which he entertained so violent an apprehension, that it was the sole consideration which restrained him from adopting more vigorous measures. The truth, however, is, that he soon consoled himself with the thought, that this desertion of the clergy would induce his friends to advise him to a resignation, a design which he had never totally laid aside from the time of his negotiations with Davanton. Moreover, the bishop of Châlons, and, by his order, Messrs. de Port Port-Royal addressed several well-written letters to him, in which they recommended to his imitation the examples of the holy bishops, who had retired to deserts and caverns during the times of persecution: which induced him to form the frivolous and chimerical design of retiring also, with the view of acquiring a great reputation in the world, by following the example of those eminent persons: although he meant to conceal himself in a manner and disposition totally different from theirs.

But, as it was necessary to make previous provision for his subsistence, the Cardinal sent Verjus to Paris, to confer with his friends on that subject. Before his departure, several schemes were suggested, for establishing a kind of fund, independent of the court. Joli proposed that

that alms-boxes should be placed in the different churches of the diocese, with this inscription, *For the subsistence of the archbishop*; observing that, if the court suffered those boxes to remain, they would produce a considerable and certain revenue, and would serve to confirm the people in their good dispositions towards his eminency: and that if they (the court) should cause them to be removed, that rigour might revive the hatred of the public to Cardinal Mazarin, as being the author of so virulent a persecution, and might tend still more to animate their charity, of which the curates might give them to understand, under the seal of confession, that they would render themselves the trustees, and might afterwards remit it to him, according to the instructions which they should receive on that head. But the Cardinal would by no means listen to this proposal, which he treated as a meanness unworthy of him: however, Verjus communicated it to his eminency's friends at Paris, many of whom, amongst others, M. d'Aubigny, highly approved of it, observing, that nothing could be more happily conceived, nor could suit better with the present conjuncture.

Nevertheless, this proposal was not adopted, the bishop of Châlons, who had the supreme direction of the Cardinal's affairs, having secured for his eminency a fund of eight thousand crowns a year, for his subsistence. Thus, depending on this revenue, which was rather small for him, he at first determined to conceal himself, by shifting his abode continually from city to city, without entering into any connection whatever with the prince of Condé or with the Spaniards; although he was still in a condition to treat with them upon advantageous terms. But, besides that the sole idea of the process constantly alarmed him, he had taken such a fancy to the licentious life of the hottelleries, that he thought of nothing, but of concealing himself from the observation of those persons, who he well knew did not approve of this new kind of life. With this view, he sent away, under various pretexts and to different places, those whose presence might put him under any restraint. He changed his name, and obliged all his attendants to do the same. He no longer talked to them but of marches and

counter marches, to elude the pursuit of the emissaries of Cardinal Mazarin. In this he was marvelously seconded by his equerry Malclerc, whom he always retained about his person in preference to every one else: because that *fidelis Achates* was careful to render him other pleasant services, on particular occasions, by means of which he had acquired an influence over him which was totally uncontrollable.

In the mean time, repeated intelligence arriving from Paris, that the court had obtained information of the place to which Cardinal de Retz had retired in Franché-Compté, and had given orders for seizing his person, it was found necessary that he should retire from thence: on which his eminency determined with no small reluctance, on account of the connections which he had formed during his abode there. Nor was this resolution adopted at last, till some dispatches had been received from Joli, who, having been detained, by sickness, at his inn at Bezancon, sent notice to the Cardinal, that a person named la Neuville, major of Brissac, had lately appeared in that quarter, and had made strict enquiry whether Cardinal de Retz had been seen in that country; that some persons whom he (Joli) had employed to watch him, had reported, that he frequently went to the houses of Blein, an *échevin*,* and of a person who had formerly been secretary to M. Beauffaut, the intendant of Alsace; that, at those times when he went from the city into the country, he was joined by several cavaliers; and finally, that M. Tineau, the secretary of the town house, to whom his eminency had been recommended by the Count de Fuensaldagne, had warned the Abbé de Lamet and Joli to be upon their guard, and to suggest the same precaution to Cardinal de Retz, should he be still in the province: as he (the secretary) was well convinced that some secret measures were concerting against him with the magistracy of the city. The Abbé de Vatteville, also, sent the like intelligence to the Cardinal, which obliged him, at length, to retire into Switzerland, from whence he wrote to the Abbé Lamet and Joli to repair to him at
Constance,

* A magistrate, whose office is nearly similar to that of a sheriff in England,

Constance, with some others of his domestics, whom he had left behind him, and to M. Vacherot to go to Strasbourg, there to wait his further orders.

The Cardinal's departure was rather abrupt, but extremely well-timed, as was also that of de Lamet and Joli, as twenty of the guards of Cardinal Mazarin arrived at their inn a few days only after they had quitted it. They all planned their measures so well, that it was a long time before the court could discover the place of their retreat; Cardinal de Retz having passed almost the whole winter, incognito, at Constance, where the Abbé de Lamet and Joli left him, after having staid some days with him, to regulate a correspondence by letter; which was now become very difficult, on account of the strict search which was, at this time, made after all those, who were suspected of being engaged in a similar intercourse with him.

M. Rousseau de Chenicourt, his steward, was taken into custody, although he scarcely interfered at all any longer in his affairs. M. Matharel, one of the King's secretaries, was also sent to the Bastile (although no connection whatever subsisted between him and the Cardinal) because he had spoken indiscreetly on the subject of his eminency's affairs, merely through an over-degree of zeal. The Marquis de Fosseuse, also, was put under an arrest, notwithstanding that he had come to Paris by express permission from the court, to regulate his domestic affairs. Finally, the persecution extended itself to two or three unfortunate wretches amongst the rabble, who were accused of mere trifles only: which plainly demonstrated the malignity of his eminency's enemies, but shewed at the same time, that their intelligence was very defective, and served to render those who had authentic information more cautious, and to set them more upon their guard.

From Constance the Cardinal went to Ulme, to Augsbourg, and to Frankfort, at which last place he appointed a meeting with the Abbé de Lamet and Joli, and where they received intelligence that M. Chevalier had been, at length, released, after having undergone a variety of unheard of rigours, the intent of which was to compel him to enter into a written engagement, not to intermeddle

intermeddle any further, either directly or indirectly, in the Cardinal's affairs: with which he constantly refused to comply. All, therefore, that the court could obtain from him was a promise, that he would not act, in any manner, to the prejudice of the King's service, after which he was released, at the intercession of the dean of Notre-Dame, the new grand vicar. Advice was also brought thither of the death of the first president de Bellievre, who was imagined to have been poisoned. It is certain that he had been for some time past, at variance with the Fouquets, and that Cardinal Mazarin was much displeased with him, because he was extremely beloved by the people, whose interests he firmly supported on every occasion. This president was moreover, much esteemed by his own company (the parliament) and also at court, where he had several powerful friends even in the cabinet. It has moreover been asserted, that the minister at one time, entertained the design of causing him to be put under arrest, observing that he opposed every new tax upon the people; but he had not dared to execute his purpose, through fear of a renewal of the barricades.* Be that as it may, Cardinal de Retz sustained a great loss by the death of that eminent and worthy magistrate, who favoured his cause, and protected his friends to the utmost of his power: insomuch that all the secret correspondence, and his eminency's cyphers were in the hands of Bruillé his (the president's) secretary, who had received them from Caumartin, one of the Cardinal's chief confidants; and it was to him that the most secret dispatches were addressed, which he decyphered and afterwards sent copies of them to Caumartin, who still continued at a distance from Paris, and to the bishop of Châlons, who communicated them to M. Pelletier de la Houffaye, his nephew, to the Abbé d'Hacqueville, to M. d'Aubigny, and, sometimes, to the Count de Montresor and to the Marquis de Laigues, although the Dutcheffs de Chevreuse

* It was remarked of the president de Bellievre, that he had acquired greater reputation by what he did not do, than by what he did; on account of the exactions which he had prevented from taking effect. There were found in his cabinet, after his decease, a great number of edicts, burdensome to the people, which he would never permit to be registered in the parliament.

Chevreuse no longer took any part in the affairs of Cardinal de Retz.

On the other hand, the whole care of the correspondence was committed to Joli, to whom also the bills of exchange were sent, at one time to Frankfort and afterwards to Cologne, the produce of which he paid into the hands of Malclerc for the Abbé de Lamet. The latter was sent to Munster, and the Cardinal went to Holland, where he passed his time very agreeably, and from whence he would not have departed so soon, but for a slight indisposition, which he did not contract by repeating his breviary. This indisposition obliged him to return to Cologne, whither he sent for, in all haste, M. Vacherot, his physician, and, at the same time dispatched Joli to Amsterdam, where he was quickly joined by Verjus, his eminency's first secretary; the under secretary, named Gautreau, having been sent to Liege with the Abbé Rousseau, to fetch from thence certain packets, and to deliver them safely into the hands of Joli.

In the mean time, the city of Munster having been besieged,* the Abbé de Lamet found himself detained there, much against his will; and, as he appeared there in the dress and character of a military man, the citizens, who never once suspected him, under that disguise, to be a doctor of the Sorbonne, offered him a considerable post, which he found it very difficult to excuse himself from accepting. After the conclusion of the siege, he went to Cologne, where, meeting with Cardinal de Retz, he reproached him with much severity and justice, for suffering him to remain totally ignorant of the state of his eminency's affairs, during the whole time of his stay at Munster, whither he had sent him.

As the city of Cologne carried on an extensive trade and was a place of great thorough-fare, the Cardinal could not remain long there without being discovered by the emissaries of Cardinal Mazarin, and of the Abbé Fouquet, who immediately dispatched thither some persons fit for the purpose, with orders to carry him off by force, at any time that he should make an excursion from
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* By its bishop, Bernard Van Gale. The citizens of Munster had taken up arms against him.

the city, or, perhaps, to proceed to still greater extremities: which might have been effected without difficulty, as his eminency was generally attended, on those occasions, by two of his domestics only. But his friends at Paris sent him intelligence of the design by means of Joli, exhorting him to be on his guard, and reminding him that the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Strasburg, his minister, who were totally devoted to the service of Cardinal Mazarin, might very probably countenance an enterprize of that kind. The Cardinal treated this prudent advice as chimerical and as resulting from a panic terror; and he even would not give himself the trouble to read the letters which were sent him on the subject: and that because he had found something wherewith to amuse himself in the family of a native of Liege, at whose house he resided.

In the mean time, the Abbé de Lamet and Vacherot, who also had taken up their abode, in different quarters, in the same city, gave him information that they had seen Croissy several times in the streets. He had come thither from Frankfort, after attending the election of the Emperor. The Cardinal now began to be of opinion, that the intelligence which he had received might be true, and, the good opinion which he had formerly entertained of him being suddenly converted into an excess of mistrust, he conceived a notion that Croissy's sole motive in coming to Cologne was to procure him to be assassinated. He even fancied that two of the oldest, and, in appearance, the most faithful of his domestics, had suffered themselves to be corrupted by Croissy, and by a person of the name of Bracq, a relation of the Fouquets, who was also at Cologne, and who, it was discovered, had for some time maintained, at his own cost, fifty or sixty troopers in the different inns of that city.

The first of those domestics who became suspected by the Cardinal was Imbert, his valet de chambre, who for the term of twenty-five years, had possessed his confidence, and had served him with an unexampled fidelity and attachment. Nevertheless, this poor fellow having received orders, at Paris, to repair to Cologne and to stop at Bezancon in his way, to bring with him a portmanteau, containing some papers of little consequence, which had
been

been left with Mr. Tineau, and this portmanteau having been either stolen or lost, his eminency mistrusted that Imbert had sold it to M. de Lyonne, in passing through Frankfort, and that he had also concerted measures with Croissy, because they both arrived at Cologne nearly at the same time.

The other domestic who fell under the Cardinal's suspicion was his cook, named Noel, who had served him very faithfully during the time of his imprisonment at Vincennes, and who had constantly attended him ever since, without ever having given him any cause of complaint or uneasiness. Nevertheless, he had the misfortune suddenly to incur the displeasure of his master, and that without any kind of reason, unless it be that he was a friend of Imbert's, and was well known to Croissy, on account of the former frequency of that gentleman's visits at his eminency's house. The pretexts which the Cardinal made use of for dismissing him from his service were: 1. That, when he went abroad, Noel constantly followed him, without his orders, to watch where he went: to which the cook replied, that he had acted thus solely in conformity to the instructions of Malclerc, who had represented to him that it was proper that they should know at all times, as near as possible, where to find their master. 2. He accused him of having copied his cyphers; which was true, but this he had done only in obedience to the Cardinal's own orders. 3. He was charged with resorting very frequently to the house at which Croissy resided: and to prove this against him, the Abbé de Lamet had been ordered to follow him twice or thrice, to observe whether he did not pass several times before Croissy's house, and to remark whether he did not turn his head from time to time, to see if any one followed him. To this Noel replied by acknowledging the fact, but by maintaining, at the same time, that Malclerc had prescribed this mysterious conduct to him, as being of the utmost importance to his eminency's service. In short, there is good reason to believe (and the sequel made it sufficiently clear) that the disgrace, into which these two domestics had fallen with the Cardinal, arose alone from the artifices of Malclerc, who wished to render himself sole master of the person

person of his eminency, as also of his purse : which he would not easily have been able to have effected, whilst his conduct should remain exposed to the strict observation of two affectionate and faithful domestics.

Be that as it may, it is certain that the court had, at that time, formed a design against the person of Cardinal de Retz, and that Croissy had been induced to repair to Cologne by the intelligence which he had received, that Cardinal de Retz had retired thither, in which he himself afterwards acquiesced, declaring that Croissy's intention was to make him a tender of his services, and, of a secure asylum, which he had procured for him amongst his friends in Germany. It will not be attempted in this place to assign the real motives by which Croissy was actuated ; but it must be allowed that Cardinal de Retz had just reason to be surprized, that this man, with whom he had been so closely connected, should shew so total a neglect of him, at a time that he was in the same place with him, and could not be ignorant that his eminency was there also, had it been only from the circumstance of the meeting with his attendants, who daily went about the city, and repeatedly passed before the house in which Croissy lodged, purposely that he might recollect them. Neither can it be denied, that the suspicions which his eminency conceived of him were well founded, having been informed of his frequent conferences with Bracq, who he knew was at the head of a design which had been formed against his eminency's person. But it is possible, also, that the Cardinal carried his suspicions too far, and that he was in the wrong to reproach Croissy in the manner he did some time afterwards, telling him that he had intended to assassinate him. The circumstances here particularized were not sufficiently strong, from whence to infer a plot of this nature, which ought not, on slight grounds, to be laid to the charge of a man, who, moreover, bore a good character, and who had no personal interest to incite him to undertake so black an action, notwithstanding that he was the friend and relation of the Fouquets, and that he eagerly sought the means of obtaining, by some service of importance, his recal to France, from whence he had been exiled some time before.

It is much more likely that Croissy, who had formerly endeavoured to persuade the Cardinal to resign his see, came at this time to Cologne with the very same view, designing to open his proposal to him by degrees, and to dispose him, under the pretence of greater security, to retire to a place, in which he (Croissy) would nearly have had all things at his command, and where he had supposed that he should be able to persuade him to a measure, to which he well knew that he was not very averse in his heart. This supposition is much more natural, and more conformable to the interests of Croissy, and to his character of a man of honour.

Neither does it appear what advantage the Cardinal's domestics could possibly derive from his death; and it ought not to be supposed, that men whose conduct had been in every other respect irreproachable, and who had the merit of near thirty years service to plead in their behalf, should listen to proposals of that nature, without some very cogent reasons. Thus, in whatever light we view the affair, there is cause to believe, that the judgment which Cardinal de Retz formed on the subject was rash, and that his suspicions were ill founded, if it is true (for it has been doubted by some) that he did in reality consider them as being capable and guilty of that treachery.

It is certain that Bracq had formed some designs against the person of the Cardinal, of whatever kind they might be, and that it was not without great good fortune and address that his eminency avoided the snares which he had spread for him; which he did by the assistance of the prince of Condé, to whom he sent Malclerc to Brussels, to request that he would grant him an escort, with which his Highness instantly complied, in a very gracious manner, and entrusted the conduct of the business to M. Dumont, his confidant. This gentleman took with him fifty or sixty troopers, to whom he gave orders to repair, in small companies and by different routs, to Cologne; where, upon their arrival, they were dispersed throughout divers parts of the city. After he had concerted the necessary measures with his eminency, he caused them to retire from thence, by different gates, and to rendezvous at a certain spot, within

within musket shot of the city, to which the Cardinal repaired, accompanied by Malclerc, just at the very instant that the gates were shut : so that Bracq and his associates were detained in the city during the whole night. This gave Cardinal de Retz all the time he could desire to retire in safety, with his escort, to Guinep, in the dominions of the States of Holland, where Dumont quitted him and returned to the prince of Condé. The next morning, Bracq, who had doubtless been made acquainted with his eminency's departure, left the city, with his whole troop, to go in quest of him ; but it was now too late, and he was obliged to return to those who had sent him, with the chagrin of having failed in his design. From Guinep the Cardinal went to Nimeguen, and from thence to Leyden, where Joli came to him. Thus far all things went on prosperously, and it would have been well if Cardinal de Retz had stopped here, too happy in having escaped the danger to which his over security had exposed him. But, being strongly impressed with his suspicions, he, previous to his departure from Cologne, gave orders to the Abbé de Lamet to cause those two unfortunate men, Imbert and Noel, to be taken into custody : and accordingly, a few days after his departure, the Abbé de Lamet ordered Imbert to go to Liege and to pass through Juliers in his way, where he was to deliver some letters, amongst the rest one for the governor of the citadel, who immediately upon his arrival detained him prisoner ; and on the next day, the Abbé having begun his journey, attended by Noel, as if with the intent of going to Bon, they met on the road a party of the prince of Condé's troops, who had been engaged for the purpose, and who conducted them also to the citadel of Juliers, where the Abbé, after putting a variety of questions to Imbert, acquainted him that he was detained by order of his master, who accused both him and Noel of a design to betray him. These two unhappy men having been put under confinement in separate dungeons, the Abbé de Lamet carried the news to the Cardinal, who expressed great joy on the occasion.

However, Joli strongly represented to him the impropriety of proceeding in so public and so rigorous a manner,

ner, on a charge which was far from being well established, against persons who had always hitherto been reputed faithful to his service ; that it would be more proper to send them to France, under some pretext, till the real state of the matter should be discovered ; and that, by detaining them prisoners in a place which belonged to the Spaniards, he would give room to Cardinal Mazarin to accuse and convict him of a correspondence with that nation.

Without paying any regard to these suggestions, Cardinal de Retz determined to push the affair to the last extremity. He drew up a state of the charges against them, consisting of circumstances invidiously interpreted, and of numerous conjectures of small apparent foundation. He affected to send this state to his friends at Paris, whose judgment thereon differed widely from his. He sent Verjus, his secretary, to Juliers, to interrogate the two prisoners, with the view of delivering them into the hands of justice. But they answered so pertinently to all the questions which were proposed to them, that Verjus, far from causing them to be put in irons, as he had been ordered to do, was strongly inclined to set them immediately at liberty ; and, on his return, he expressed himself with much freedom on the subject to the Cardinal, but with still more to Joli, with whom he agreed in opinion that they were innocent, and that all this great stir arose solely from the hatred and jealousy of Malclerc, perhaps also from the natural timidity of the Cardinal, which had magnified objects to his view, and had led him to put a criminal construction on actions which were in themselves very innocent.

But all his remonstrances proved ineffectual, as did also the applications of Pere de Gondy, of the bishop of Châlons, and of M. Caumartin, to obtain the release-ment of those unfortunate men, whom they believed to be totally innocent of the charges brought against them. It even seemed as if these applications in their favour, instead of mitigating the Cardinal's resentment, served only to incense him against them : and this resentment he carried to so great a length, that he not only caused them to be detained in prison for the term of two whole years,

years, till the conclusion of the general peace, in consequence of which event they ought to have been set at liberty ; but he also, by the assistance of the prince of Condé. procured them to be removed to Bilfelt,* where they remained another year, at the expence of his eminency, who regularly defrayed the charge of their maintenance from quarter to quarter. Neither, perhaps, would they ever have been released, had not Noel, who was very ingenious and enterprizing, found means to loosen, by little and little, with the point of a small knife, and with the unremitting industry and patience of a prisoner, a large stone in the wall of the apartment in which he was confined ; and, having thus made a hole of considerable size in the wall, he let himself down by the sheets of his bed, and made his escape. He immediately repaired to France, where he presented himself to the Cardinal's friends, with the confidence of a man who is conscious of his innocence, to demand justice of them ; offering again to surrender himself, and to abide the result of a legal process. The bishop of Châlons having written to his eminency on the subject, took occasion to press him to release Imbert, who was still in confinement at Bilfelt, for which purpose he expressly sent to him M. Despinay, who could obtain nothing from him in his first journey : but, on returning a second time with fresh solicitations, he (Imbert) was put into his hands, to be delivered into the custody of the bishop of Châlons, on condition that he should be responsible for his person and conduct. In short, Cardinal de Retz always remained so fully persuaded of the supposed treachery of these two persons, that, after his return to France, he would never give ear to any thing that his friends could say in their behalf, nor would he yield to the earnest intreaties of the accused parties, to be admitted to justify themselves and to convince him of their innocence.

These are the particulars of the case of those two unfortunate men ; and this was, perhaps, the cause of all the subsequent disorder in the affairs of Cardinal de Retz, whose wandering manner of life continued for the space of upwards of three years, from the time at

which

* A place which belonged to the Elector of Brandenburg.

which he caused them to be put under confinement, and ended at last in the resignation of his archbishopric; a conclusion which was neither much to his advantage nor to his reputation. But what better could be expected from a man, whose whole pleasure it was, in the sequel, to conceal himself from public observation in the hotelleries, and to imitate, in every place where he resided, the manners and conduct by which those persons are commonly distinguished, whose dress and characters he assumed, scarcely suffering his friends to speak to him on the subject of his affairs, especially if they attempted to incite him to any act of vigour and firmness?

Not but that he constantly affected the appearances and language of resolution. He compared his retirement in the hotelleries to that of the holy anchorets in the deserts; but it was with much greater foundation that he attributed the recluseness of his life to the necessity of avoiding persecutions. It is true, moreover, that there were certain intervals, in which he appeared to be inclined to shake off his supineness, and to follow the advice of his friends; but these were but of momentary duration. Afterwards he quickly relapsed into his former indolence; and from hence Malclerc, who was better acquainted with his character than any one else, often took occasion to remark to Joli, when he observed him labouring to inspire him with sentiments more worthy of himself and of his quality, that he only lost his time and pains, and that he "would never be able to convert a buzzard into a hawk."

One of the instances in which Cardinal de Retz appeared to awaken a little from his lethargy was, when Cardinal Mazarin gave up the fort of Mardyke and the other maritime places of Flanders to Cromwell: from which circumstance Joli, who was then at Amsterdam, took occasion to compose a little piece, pointing out all the probable consequences of a step so prejudicial to France, under the title of, "A letter from an English gentleman to one of his friends at the Hague." The Cardinal, being struck with it, drew up another, which he intituled, "A remonstrance, addressed to the King,"

"on

“ on the surrendery of the maritime places of Flanders to the English.” This last piece, being conceived in very lofty terms, was circulated throughout Europe with great applause, and was translated into various languages. This affair had no relation whatever to those of Cardinal de Retz : yet, as it concerned Cardinal Mazarin, whose conduct therein was much censured, he was greatly flattered by the success of his piece, and those who were with him entertained hopes, for some time, that this might revive his ambition, and might induce him to undertake some action of greater importance.

They conceived still stronger hopes of this event, when they found him determined to go to Brussels, to return the prince of Condé thanks for the assistance he had afforded him at Cologne ; not doubting but that his Highness and the Cardinal would closely unite together, to act in concert against their common enemy. The Cardinal appeared to be fully resolved on that step ; nevertheless the journey was not productive of any material consequences ; his eminency having contented himself with representing to the prince, that he was no longer in a condition to undertake any vigorous action, his friends having abandoned him, particularly the Duke de Noirmoutier, who he declared had betrayed him and had declined to afford him any manner of assistance : which was not altogether true. He cautiously avoided giving the Prince of Condé the least intimation of the resources which he still had left in his spiritual authority, and of which he might avail himself by fulminating an interdict against his enemies, in concert with his Highness and with the Spaniards, who, in that case, might be able to procure him the protection of the Pope : which would, doubtless, have given rise to the utmost confusion in Paris, and would have afforded the male-contents a fine opportunity to attempt some enterprize of importance.

Thus their whole conference passed in execrations on Noirmoutier, whom the Prince mortally hated, and in general assurances of correspondence on either side, save that the prince of Condé promised to enter into no accommodation

commodation with the court, and the Cardinal that he would not resign his see, without first communicating their intentions to each other. After which, the Cardinal, according to his usual custom, gave the Prince a cypher, of which his eminency made as little use, as of those which he had left with Don Louis-de Haro, and with the Count de Fuensaldagne.

In the same journey the Cardinal sent a person to compliment the king of England in his name, and to communicate to the duke of Ormond the address of Joli, at Amsterdam, that, if his Britannic Majesty should have any commands for him, they might be sent to him by that conveyance. He afterwards returned to Holland, imagining that he had done extraordinary matters, or, at least, endeavouring to persuade others into that opinion; because he, from time to time, received letters from the prince of Condé, which were filled with matters of no consequence, and to which he returned answers of similar importance.

In the mean time, he still continued to lead this obscure and wandering life, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, at the Hague, at Amsterdam, at Rotterdam, at Utrecht, and in several other cities of Holland. But it was at Utrecht that he met with most recreation, at an inn which had for its sign the *Kleine Poortje*, or the Little Door, where a servant, named *Annetje*, or Nanny, possessed a considerable share of the Cardinal's good graces. It was there that the Abbé Charier came to him, to persuade him to resign his see, and, for that purpose, to enter into a negotiation with the Marshal de Villeroi and the grand provost, whose credit and good intentions he highly extolled. But his proposals were not listened to, seeing that a doubt was entertained of the imputed credit of these mediators, and that the Cardinal's friends at Paris were of a different opinion. Moreover, the prince of Condé, having prevailed on his eminency to repair a second time to Brussels, made him acquainted with a secret correspondence, which he at that time carried on with the nobility of the province of Normandy, by the assistance of the Count de Creguy-Perneville and M. d'Annery,

d'Annery, one of the Cardinal's oldest friends. The Marshal d'Hoquincourt, who had also retired to Brussels, much incensed against Cardinal Mazarin, was deeply concerned in this business, and it had been determined that he should be detached with a body of four thousand horse, to enter Normandy, whilst the Spanish army should take post on the banks of the river Somme, in the neighbourhood of Crotoy, the governor of which place was in the interests of the prince of Condé, who it was proposed should march from thence to Paris, immediately upon receiving intelligence of the insurrection in Normandy, and should conduct Cardinal de Retz thither with him.

But all these schemes, although not badly concerted, were rendered of no effect, through the infatuation of the Spaniards, and of Don Juan, who, being desirous before all things to attempt the relief of Dunkirk, which was at that time besieged by the Marshal de Turenne, were defeated at the battle of Dunes, the Marshal d'Hoquincourt was killed, and their whole army was dispersed, in spite of the efforts and the bravery of the prince of Condé and Don Juan, who, notwithstanding their bad success, acquired much glory on the occasion.

During the course of these interesting events, it happened that twelve or fifteen French adventurers came to the house at which Joli and Verjus lodged at Amsterdam, headed by a man who they said was the only person amongst them who was acquainted with the secret design of their journey, of which they themselves were totally ignorant; save that they were in search of a person of quality, for whom they had already made a strict perquisition in several different cities of Germany, particularly at Cologne; that they were employed in this business by the Abbé Fouquet, who allowed them half a pistole per diem for their subsistence; and that another party of their comrades were lodged in a different quarter of the city. This was all that could be gathered from the discourse of these banditti, by some persons whom Joli instructed to drink with them and to draw them into a conversation: in which they succeeded
without

without much difficulty, those wretches having conducted themselves with so little discretion and reserve, that there is reason to believe that they were sent as much with the view of alarming the Cardinal as of doing hurt. Be that as it may, Joli immediately repaired to Naerden, where the Cardinal then was with the Abbé Charrier, to acquaint his eminency with the above circumstances: which obliged him to return to Utrecht, as being a place of greater extent and safety.

He was visited there, soon afterwards, by the Duke of Ormond, who had been sent to compliment his eminency in the name of the King of England, and it was from him that the Cardinal received the first intelligence of the battle of Dunes. This nobleman also brought him advice, in the sequel, of the death of Cromwell, and requested his eminency to exert all his endeavours to dispose the Pope to assist the King of England, his master, with a sum of money at that juncture, and to render the catholics of his kingdom favourable to his interests: his Majesty engaging to take them under his protection, when he should be re-established in the possession of his rights. The application was properly attended to by Cardinal de Retz, who promised to serve that monarch to the utmost of his power. In fact, he immediately proposed to the Abbé Charrier to return to Rome, to open this business to the Pope and Cardinal-Patron, and to sound, at the same time, the disposition of that court, with respect to his eminency. But the Abbé, who had other schemes in view, excused himself from complying for some time, and the affair was suffered to continue in this state for the present.

Afterwards, the Cardinal having repaired to Rotterdam, a person named S. Gilles was deputed to him by the Jansenists, who, finding themselves closely pressed both by the court of Rome and by that of France, addressed themselves to his eminency, offering him the whole credit and the purses of their friends, who were extremely numerous and very powerful; urging him to exert all his authority, and engaging that he should be vigorously supported by all their partizans. This offer might have been accepted, and perhaps might

have produced its effect, had it been made at the proper season: but those gentlemen having remained totally silent on the subject during that time, and having now set themselves in motion solely with a view to their own private interests, the Cardinal, whose courage was, moreover, greatly depressed, and his credit diminished, paid not the least attention to their proposals, as if he had been determined to reject the applications of all those from whom it was probable that he might obtain any assistance. Thus the Abbé Charrier, perceiving that nothing was to be effected on that side, resolved at length to go to Rome, to negotiate in behalf of the King of England: S. Gilles, who had brought him letters from M. Bagnols, his relation, having represented to him that his journey might possibly be serviceable to the Jansenists, and having promised that he should be furnished with the necessary sums, for his subsistence: without which he would not have undertaken the journey, as at that time he placed very little confidence in the Cardinal's promises. Thus, S. Gilles having returned to France, without obtaining any thing from his eminency but a cypher, which was the customary conclusion of all his negotiations, the Abbé Charrier set out from Rotterdam, accompanied by Cardinal de Retz, who himself would conduct him as far as Augsbουργ, where he gave him an additional sum of money, of a considerable amount, which at once determined him, and removed all the objections which he had hitherto made to the proposed measure.

This journey, being undertaken at an unseasonable time, produced no manner of effect: all that the Abbé Charrier could do was to obtain a private audience of Cardinal Azzolini, who very readily engaged to speak to the Cardinal-Patron on the subject of his application. In a few days afterwards, his eminency acquainted the Abbé, that the promises of the King of England had made no impression on the Pope; that, whatever advantages might be expected from him in favour of the Catholics of England, the court of Rome would never consent to furnish him with any money, either as a gift or by way of loan; that, with respect to Cardinal de
Retz,

Retz, the Pope's relations being entirely occupied with the design of establishing their fortune, they were still more averse than ever to embroil themselves, on his account, with the court of France; that Jansenism was held in such detestation at Rome, that it would be not only useless, but even dangerous also, to speak in favour of the partizans of that doctrine, finally; that he had acquainted the Cardinal-Patron that the Abbé Charrier was at Rome, but had found him so much disinclined to listen to any of the proposals which he (the Abbé) had been commissioned to offer, that he would not advise him to press the matter any further.

Immediately upon receiving this answer, the Abbé, without demanding an audience either of the Pope, or of the Cardinal-Patron, set out on his return to France, after having sent advice to Cardinal de Retz of the bad success of his negotiation. The Cardinal went to Ratisbon, from whence he returned to Holland in all haste, in consequence of a report of the near approach of the general peace. There he met with Verjus, who was just arrived from France, whither he had been sent to gain intelligence of the real state of the Cardinal's affairs in that kingdom, and to change his cyphers, on account of the pretended treachery of his domestics; after which his eminency repaired to Flanders, where he had an interview with the Prince of Condé, who had given him notice of the apparent inclination of the two crowns to a peace.

The Prince and his eminency would both very gladly have prevented the conclusion of a peace, had it been in their power, as would also the Marquis de Caracene, who commanded the Spanish troops in Flanders. There was also a faction at the court of Spain who openly opposed that measure, observing that their affairs were not in so bad a state as to require that they should precipitate matters; that there was reason to hope that a revolution would take place in France; that, after Cardinal Mazarin should have consented to a conference on the frontiers, he would be necessitated either to grant them the greatest part of their demands, or to take upon himself the whole odium of the rupture of

the negotiations, which would be of dangerous consequence to him, both in foreign countries and in France; the Queen herself having of late entertained an opinion, that he was much disinclined both to a peace and to the King's marriage with the Infanta, hoping, perhaps, that his Majesty might be induced to espouse Ann Mancini, his niece, * for whom the King had conceived a violent passion.

But Don Louis de Haro, the prime minister of Spain, reasoned differently on the subject. The bad success of the battle of Elvas, which had been won by the Portuguese, in the month of January 1659, and at which he had been present in person, had inspired him with so strong a desire of vengeance, that it occupied all his thoughts, and he constantly replied to those who pressed him on the subject, "Ha mister conquistar à Portugal." † He was so fearful lest the treaty which had been entered upon, and in which Cardinal Mazarin engaged to abandon the Portuguese, should not be brought to an issue, that he was several times inclined to relinquish his demand for the re-establishment of the Prince of Condé, and to offer him, by way of compensation, possessions in the Spanish territories of double the revenue of those which he held in France. ‡ He also sent orders to the Marquis de Caracene to drop all further correspondence whatever with Cardinal de Retz, as, should the least unbrage be given to Cardinal Mazarin on that head, he might from thence take occasion to break off the negotiations for a peace.

Notwithstanding this, Cardinal de Retz went several times to Brussels, whilst the negotiations were depending,

* The Cardinal, being convinced that the King would never be prevailed on to espouse his niece, and that she could not expect to be any other than his mistress, was apprehensive lest that Prince might afterwards abandon her, and that the disgrace might, in consequence, ultimately fall upon himself. He, therefore, determined to remove her from the court, and therein acted very prudently.

† "Portugal must be conquered."

‡ This was a feint of the court of Spain, to alarm Cardinal Mazarin with the apprehension, that they intended to cede to the Prince of Condé a considerable part of the Low Countries.

ing, where he had an interview with the Marquis de Caraceni, and conferred several times with the Prince of Condé, on the subject of his secret connections with the nobility of Normandy, which still existed, but which were at length discovered, in consequence of the capture of M. de Bonnefon, a gentleman of Sologne, who had his head struck off at Paris; which circumstance obliged the Marquis de Creguy-Berneville and M. d'Annery to seek an asylum in Holland.

After the conclusion of the peace, all intercourse between Cardinal de Retz and the Prince of Condé suddenly ceased, or was reduced, at least, to mere protestations of friendship; his highness having returned to France, whereas the Cardinal was obliged to retire once more into Holland, with the chagrin of having neglected to accept of a proffered union with that Prince, which might have been advantageous to him. For this reason, Joli, perceiving that his eminency had no longer any resource left, advised him to quit his wandering course of life and to retire rather into some monastery, under the protection of the Emperor, where he might live more honourably and religiously, and in a manner better becoming his condition; and, moreover, at a much less expence.

But the Cardinal would not by any means listen to this advice. After having made a third journey to Brussels, to pay his compliments to the King of England, who had stopped there on his return from the congress of the Pyrennees, he again retired into Holland, where he conducted himself as before, ranging from city to city, and from inn to inn, passing his whole time at stage-plays, puppet-shows, and other diversions of the like nature, being totally unable to apply himself to any serious study. If he read at any time, it was only such books as were of the most useless and trifling kind. This unaccountable conduct gave great disgust to Joli and Verjus, more especially as his eminency took every opportunity to sow distrust and jealousy between all those who were about his person, by the reports, often totally false, which he made to each of them to the disadvantage of the rest: insomuch that
each

each day produced fresh quarrels and explanations, in which the Cardinal constantly took the part of his equerry Malclerc, who governed him with an absolute authority, which, however, was founded not so much upon inclination or friendship, as upon the need in which he stood of his services in procuring him certain amusements, and, perhaps also, upon the fear lest he should discover his foibles and debaucheries, of which the equerry was the sole confidant and witness.

This dependance of the Cardinal became even still more apparent, from the time of a violent quarrel which happened between him and the equerry, at Anvers, at an inn, which has the sign of the city of Sevensberg: for, having proceeded from words to blows, they boxed each other with so much fury, and with so little respect on the side of the equerry, that the Cardinal's nose was much hurt in the fray, and his band was torn entirely to pieces. He was, to all appearance, soundly beaten, and this rendered him so submissive and humble, that his eminency dared not, from that time, speak to any person without the participation of his equerry, constantly conforming afterwards to every thing that he required.

It was never rightly known from what cause this quarrel originated, and M. Vacherot, the Cardinal's physician, and some of the domestics, who had put an end to the fray, and who had been witnesses to the bloody condition of the champions, could give Joli no other information than merely of what they had seen: the parties having kept a profound silence on the subject of this tragi-comedy. Be that as it may, the equerry carried his impudence to so great a length, that there was no malicious action, however mean and base, of which he was not guilty towards all those who attended the Cardinal, and that even in his presence, his eminency not daring to express the least disapprobation whatever of his conduct. This insolent fellow was not satisfied with being master of his money, without rendering any account; but he determined also to obtain the entire management of his affairs, and, with
this

this view, he procured a cypher to be sent him from Paris, for his own particular use. But, perceiving that M. Caumartin, and the rest of his eminency's friends would not correspond with any one but Joli, he resolved to ruin him in the Cardinal's esteem, and to render him suspected by his artifices and calumnies, setting every engine in motion to discover some circumstances on which he might ground an accusation against him, even to the going into his chamber during the night, whilst he was asleep and taking an inventory of every thing that was in his pockets.

Joli was informed of these scandalous proceedings by the Cardinal's domestics, but he disdained to make any complaint on the subject, and he continued to exert himself in his eminency's service with the same zeal and assiduity as before. The Cardinal, on his side, performed his part with admirable dissimulation, and manifested the same confidence and friendship for Joli as he had always been accustomed to shew him, particularly when any affairs arose which were above the reach of Malclerc's abilities. But it is certain that this was all merely grimace, and that his eminency's sentiments, respecting him, were totally changed.

Cardinal de Retz pursued this irregular course of life for the space of two whole years, to the very time of his accommodation with the court; nothing having happened of any consequence during the whole period, save three journies which he made, one to Hamburg, to pay his compliments to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and two to England, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, to remind that monarch of his promises to mediate his reconciliation with the court. He was, in a great measure, indebted to M. d'Aubigni, who was at that time in England, for the favourable reception which he met with from the King, the Duke of Ormond, and the chancellor; but all this produced no solid advantage to him, save a present of four thousand guineas in bills of exchange, which were brought to him in Holland by an Irish gentleman, of the name of Mead, one of the domestics of M.
* d'Aubigni.

d'Aubigni. M. Malclerc did not neglect to make himself immediately master of this money, and to oblige his eminency to keep the matter very secret, under the pretext that, if it should come to the knowledge of his friends, they would withdraw the stipend of eight thousand crowns per annum, which they had for some time allowed him for his subsistence.

Some short time afterwards, Cardinal Mazarin having conceived the design of marrying one of his nieces with the King of England, and having sent M. Berthet to London to negotiate that affair; M. d'Aubigni immediately sent intelligence of the circumstance to Cardinal de Retz, in order that he might endeavour to avail himself of the conjuncture; which obliged his eminency to return to London, with the intention of promoting this marriage to the utmost of his power; not doubting but that this would prove the sure means of effecting his accommodation with Cardinal Mazarin. But, having found the King and his council very averse to this proposal, he suddenly changed his plan, and adopting the disposition of the court, he zealously declaimed against the project of Cardinal Mazarin, and exerted all his endeavours to persuade the world, that he had prevented the conclusion of this degrading alliance, and that this had been the sole intent of his voyage to England.* He proposed to his Britannic Majesty a person far more worthy of his choice, viz. the Princess of Parma, with whom the Spaniards offered to give a dower equal to that of a daughter of Spain, and the matter was pushed so far by M. d'Aubigny and the Earl of Bristol, that the King sent the latter to demand that Princess in form. But the Chancellor, who had other views, and who had suffered that nobleman to depart on his embassy solely with the intention of removing him from the court, having proposed the Princess of Portugal to the King, suddenly caused his Majesty to alter his resolution, and the Earl was recalled from

* The King of England received this proposal with disdain, and observed on the occasion, that he had never experienced so great an insult from the hands of fortune before.

from Brussels, where he had stopped on his rout. This determination disconcerted the Cardinal a little, he being very desirous of inducing an opinion in the world that he governed the court of England, although, in fact, he had no share whatever in the affairs of that kingdom, unless it were, perhaps, in those which related to M. d'Aubigny, for whom his Britannic Majesty was desirous of procuring a Cardinal's hat.

The chancellor, also, seemed inclined to favour this design, and Cardinal de Retz was, accordingly, entrusted with the conduct of the negotiation at the court of Rome. This furnished him with the opportunity of writing a number of letters, and of drawing up several copious memorials, from which he assumed great merit, and which, nevertheless, bore evident marks of the style of Joli. In short, this affair was spun out to a great length and did not succeed in the end, although the chancellor had sent Beslin, his secretary and confidant, to Rome, with the most pressing letters from the Queen of England, and with full power to make use of the King's name in all cases where he should judge it necessary: but there is good reason to suspect that all this was done merely for appearance sake, and that the above person was chosen rather to traverse than to promote the design.

Be that as it may, in consequence of this affair, several considerable sums were paid to his eminency, at different times, for which he rendered very few services, and those but of small importance, although he bestirred himself greatly in the business, having made a journey to Hamburgh, expressly with the intention of prevailing on Queen Christina to write to Cardinal Azzolini, and to her other friends at Rome, in favour of M. d'Aubigny. He also defrayed the expences of several councils, amongst others of that in which it was determined to send twenty ships of war to the Straits and as far as Civita-Vecchia, to alarm the Pope and his nephews, and to induce them to comply with what was required of them.

It was nearly about this time that the friends of Cardinal de Retz, taking advantage of the bad state of Cardinal Mazarin's health, endeavoured to work upon the

conscience of the latter, by representing to him, that it was neither just nor to his reputation, to suffer the church of Paris, to remain in its present state of disorder, and that, after having given peace to all Europe, he ought to compleat his work, by restoring tranquillity to the church. But, perceiving that he was not very ambitious of obtaining that glory, they attempted to alarm his fears, by publishing a letter, which was addressed to all the bishops of the Roman church. This letter, which was extremely well composed, reproached Cardinal Mazarin with the virulence which he still continued to manifest against Cardinal de Retz, after having concluded the general peace. and at a time when he drew very near to the verge of the grave. It concluded with imploring the assistance and the prayers of all the prelates of the catholic church, and this was expressed in terms which gave room to suppose, that, if the court should persist in refusing to do him justice, he should not stop there, and that he should, at length, be obliged to make use of the only remaining remedies, of which he observed that he had hitherto declined to avail himself, from an apprehension of creating a confusion in the state during the time of the war.

This letter was highly approved by Cardinal de Retz, who, after having retouched it in some particular passages, caused it immediately to be printed in Latin and in French, and signed several of the copies, which he ordered Joli to send to the bishops of Italy, Germany, Spain and Poland. But, the disorder of Cardinal Mazarin having considerably encreased, and the bishop of Châlons having written to him (Cardinal de Retz) that it would be better not to push matters to extremities, and that there was still some prospect of succeeding by gentle means with that minister, his eminency suddenly altered his resolution, and determined totally to suppress that letter, through fear, lest, if he should publish it, he should be necessitated to support that proceeding by some action of vigour. This was, accordingly, done, in spite of all the remonstrances of Joli and of the authors of the letter, who were very unwilling to lose the fruits of their labour: and his eminency even frankly declared to them, that he plainly perceived that they meant
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to incite him to undertake something further, but that he would rather continue in his present situation ten years longer, than do any act, which might tend to encrease the resentment of the court and of Cardinal Mazarin.

At length, however, the bishop of Châlons having acquainted him, that there was no longer the least hopes that the court would receive him into favour on any other condition than that of his resignation, Cardinal de Retz resumed his first design, and consented that the letter should be published, hoping that it might intimidate Cardinal Mazarin, and might induce him to make proper reflections; by furnishing those who should attend him in his last moments with a fine opportunity of pressing that point home to him on the score of conscience: so that copies of this letter were circulated on all sides. They were sent not only to the bishops, but to all the ecclesiastics and to all persons, in general, who it was expected would make a proper use of them. But this proved of no very great service, because his eminency would not take the least step in support of this letter: moreover, Cardinal Mazarin dying nearly about this time, it was found necessary to adopt other measures. The first step which Cardinal de Retz took, subsequently to the above event, was a little abrupt, and, perhaps, rash, although it had been recommended to him by several of his friends. They advised him to repair, without delay, to Paris. He advanced as far as Valenciennes, in order that he might be near at hand, to act according to the intelligence which he should receive, and he sent orders to Joli and Verjus, who were at Amsterdam, to follow him: which they did in despite of their own judgment, rightly conceiving that this precipitate measure would produce no good effect. Having reached Brussels, they there met with the Cardinal, who was on his return, he having received advice at Valenciennes, that the King had issued a proclamation, forbidding all manner of persons to entertain him, or to suffer him to pass through their respective districts, and which was conceived in terms still more harsh and violent than those in the time of Cardinal Mazarin.

M. d'Aubigny,

M. d'Aubigny, who was at that time in England, had formed nearly similar expectations in favour of his eminency, which he had even carried much farther : for, having conferred with Berthet,* who had formerly had a share in the management of the Cardinal's affairs, they both conceived the notion, not only that it would be easy to effect his accommodation with the court, but also that he might obtain the post which his enemy had filled in the privy-council ; and Berthet, accordingly departed in all haste from London, accompanied by Mead, the gentleman of M. d'Aubigny, who was to introduce him to the friends of Cardinal de Retz. The Cardinal at the same time sent his equerry Malclerc to Paris, apparently on the same business, although he has ever since constantly persisted in denying it. Be that as it may, this project quickly terminated in the imprisonment of Berthet, who was sent to the Bastile. Mead and the Cardinal's equerry fortunately made their escape, the first to England, and the latter to Valenciennes, where his master had remained in anxious expectation of his return.

In the mean time, Messrs. le Tellier and Fouquet, judging that it would be much to their advantage could they by any means obtain from Cardinal de Retz the resignation of his see, which they knew was earnestly desired by the King and the Queen-Mother, conformably to the last advice of Cardinal Mazarin, began, separately, to carry into execution such measures as they deemed most conducive to the attainment of the point they had in view. For this purpose, M. le Tellier sent proposals to Cardinal de Retz, by the Baron de Pennacors, a relation of the Cardinal's, who had been employed in most of the preceding transactions, and that in concert with the bishop of Coutance, who, notwithstanding all that had passed respecting him during the late troubles, had rendered the Cardinal every service in his power. The Baron, therefore, having repaired to Amsterdam, applied himself to Joli, to whom he explained the nature

* This Berthet was the person whom Cardinal Mazarin employed to negotiate the marriage of one of his nieces with the King of Great Britain, and to offer that monarch twelve millions of livres [or 500,000*l.* Sterling] for her portion.

ture of his commission, assuring him that M. le Tellier was well inclined to serve his eminency to the utmost extent of his abilities, and even to preserve to him the possession of his see, if that should be found practicable; that, at all events, he engaged to obtain for him a very considerable compensation, and with which he should have good cause to be satisfied, insinuating that it would be necessary that the Cardinal should first effect a reconciliation with the court, and that, his Majesty having once accepted of his submission, many things might offer which might be more worthy of his attention than the archbishopric of Paris. Joli, although he did not approve of these proposals, nevertheless wrote on the subject to Cardinal de Retz, who immediately sent him orders to conduct Pennacors to the Hague, where he had several long conferences with his eminency, who constantly feigned, at all times when Joli was present, a firm resolution not to resign his see; but he, apparently, held a different language in private, seeing that he complied, in the sequel, with what was required of him. He wrote letters to the King and Queen, which were to be delivered to their Majesties by M. le Tellier; and in which, after apologizing for his refusal hitherto to resign his see, which he imputed to the treatment which he had experienced from Cardinal Mazarin, he assured their Majesties of his readiness to submit to their will, and to sacrifice every view of advantage, when he could do it consistently with his conscience and with that regard which he was bound to pay to the interests of the church.

Pennacors returned to Paris with these letters, which were composed by Joli, and the Cardinal affected to tell him publicly, that, if the court should continue to insist on the article of the resignation, he need only to return without proceeding any further in the business, although in their private conferences he gave him very different instructions, but this was in confidence, and after having exacted from him a promise, that he would not mention the matter either to the Abbé de Lamet, Joli, or Verjus. Pennacors, on his side, required similar assurances of secrecy from the Cardinal, in the name of M. le Tellier, respecting every circumstance of this negotiation,

negotiation, declaring that he would immediately drop the prosecution of the affair, should he learn that the superintendant Fouquet had come to the knowledge of it.

However, scarcely had the Baron departed from the Hague before the Abbé Charrier arrived there, having been sent by M Fouquet, for the same purpose of obtaining from his eminency the resignation of his archbishopric, which he (Fouquet) was desirous of acquiring for one of his brothers, offering to procure for him a compensation, in benefices, to almost any amount that he should require, and to cause the restitution, to be made to him, of the revenues of the archbishopric to be fixed at whatever sum he should think proper, of which the Abbé had orders to pay him a part in advance, if he should find that this would give his eminency any satisfaction.

These proposals the negotiator accompanied with many pompous encomiums on the superintendant; exalting to the skies his generosity, liberality, and inviolable fidelity to his friends, the extraordinary influence which he possessed at court, and the high degree of favour in which he stood with the King and the Queen, which left no room to doubt but that, in a short time, he would be placed at the head of affairs. The Abbé imagined that these considerations would make a strong impression on the Cardinal's mind, and would induce him to enter into an engagement, to which, moreover, he well knew him to be not at all averse in his heart: but he was strangely surprized, when his eminency, having first exacted from him an oath of secrecy, under the seal of confession, acquainted him, in the presence of Joli, with all the circumstances of the negotiation with Pennacors, and demonstrated to him the difference between the proposals offered by M. le Tellier and those of M. Fouquet; the latter absolutely insisting on the article of the resignation, whereas the other almost pledged himself to prevail on the court to suffer him to retain his see. The Cardinal added a still more essential consideration, which was that the superintendant's
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offers came apparently from himself alone, whereas Pennacors had plainly hinted that his proposals were, in some sort, authorized by the King and Queen. This circumstance gave occasion to Joli to observe, from that instant, that the superintendant did not possess so great a share of credit, either at court or with their Majesties, as he imagined, seeing that it had been thought proper to conceal from him an affair of this nature.

His eminency and the Abbé Charrier made a jest of this inference, which, however, was quickly justified in the sequel: but they agreed that it would be necessary to wait for intelligence from Pennacors, and that, in the mean time, the Abbé should write to M Fouquet in general terms, acquainting him that the Cardinal would not listen to any proposal for his resignation. It was, nevertheless, with great difficulty that the Abbé prevailed on himself to take this step, which was not at all consonant with the character of an upright man, imagining, moreover, the mediation of M. Fouquet to be preferable to that of M. le Tellier, and ill brooking the destruction of all those great hopes, which he had founded on the success of this negotiation, with respect to his own private interests. But, as he had long been attached to Cardinal de Retz, he could not dispense with submitting to his arguments and to his will.

Matters remained in this state for the space of three weeks, during which time no fresh incident happened, save that the Cardinal received continual complaints and reproaches from all his friends, on the subject of the reports which were spread of his design to accommodate matters without their participation: to which it was judged sufficient to reply, that it was true that proposals had been made to him, but that his eminency had rejected them, as they all turned on that single point of his resignation, which he was determined not to grant. Joli wrote on the subject to Caumartin in these terms, not once imagining that Cardinal de Retz could ever forget the solemn protestations, which he repeated on all occasions, that he would suffer no consideration
whatever

whatever to induce him to abandon his archbishopric: concluding, moreover, that the adjustment of the articles of the treaty with Pennacors, should it succeed, would be finally committed to him, as he had always desired that it might. The bishop of Châlons, and his nephew, la Haussaye, also complained loudly on the occasion, seeing that the bishop had an eye upon the archbishopric, having already insinuated to the court, that Cardinal de Retz would be more inclined to resign in favour of a friend than of any one else.

A considerable time elapsed before the Cardinal received any advices from Pennacors, because M. le Tellier had been engaged in attending the King to Nantes, whither his Majesty had repaired for the purpose of causing M. Fouquet to be seized, and also because he (le Tellier) had deemed it adviseable to wait till the conclusion of that affair, which greatly occupied their Majesties attention, before he should present to them the Cardinal's letters, in order the better to insure a favourable answer. Finally, this news of the imprisonment of the superintendant extremely surprized Cardinal de Retz and the Abbé Charrier, who had formerly ridiculed the conjecture of Joli *. The Cardinal began from thence, to conceive better hopes of the success of M. le Tellier's application in his behalf, the credit of that minister being now considerably augmented. But he did not remain long in this pleasing error, Pennacors having, at length, acquainted him, that his letters had been presented, and had met with a favourable reception from the King and Queen; that M. le Tellier had exerted all his endeavours, to prevail on their Majesties.

* The court had, with great address, previously prevailed on M. Fouquet to resign his office of attorney-general, under the pretext that, having been entrusted with the whole management of affairs ever since the death of Cardinal Mazarin, it was become unnecessary that he should occupy that post any longer. The intention of the court in going into Brittany was to get possession of Belle-Isle, which island the superintendant had purchased of the family of de Retz, and had fortified it, in case of a reverse of fortune. M. le Tellier did not interfere in the proceedings against him, either directly or indirectly.

jesties to admit him into favour, without compelling him to quit his archbishopric; but that all his efforts had proved ineffectual, and that, if his eminency was inclined to bring matters to a final issue, he must absolutely resolve to comply with the demand of his resignation: after which he might promise himself an advantageous compensation, and every other kind of favour from his Majesty. The letters from Pennacors were conceived in such terms, as gave room to suspect that M. le Tellier no longer interested himself in this affair with the same zeal as at first, having apparently entered into it with no other view, than that of thereby depriving his competitor (Fouquet) of the means of making his court to the King: and, although the Cardinal sent him (Pennacors) repeated orders to return, he was long in doubt whether he should pay obedience to them, observing the great coolness and indifferency which the person by whom he was employed manifested in the business. He, however, returned at length, with the offers of the court, on the condition of his eminency's resignation, and which were as follow: 1. That the abbey of St. Dennis, should be conferred on him, the annual revenue of which, it was asserted, amounted to forty thousand crowns [nearly 5000*l.* Sterling.] 2. That restitution should be made to him of all the revenues of his archbishopric and of his other benefices, which should be found to have been paid into the treasury or to have been placed in other hands, which they estimated at nearly the Sum of sixty thousand livres [about 2500*l.* Sterling] although, had they been properly husbanded, they would have produced upwards of two hundred thousand livres [upwards of 8000*l.* Sterling.] Lastly, that a general amnesty should be granted to all those who had followed the fortunes of Cardinal de Retz, and that all the canons, curates, and others, who had been banished on account of any kind of concern they had had in his affairs, should be recalled, and should be re-instated in their several benefices, posts, and employments; distinguishing M. de Chassebras, the curate of the Magdalen, by name.

For the space of several days, the Cardinal affected to reject these proposals, and to persist in refusing to resign

resign his see. The Abbé Charrier and Malclerc, who were well acquainted with his real intentions, also acted the same part, assuring the Abbé de Lamet, Jôli and Verjus, that they constantly exerted all their endeavours, to confirm him in that resolution ; but it is very certain that their conduct, on the occasion, was the direct reverse of their declarations, and that they wished for nothing so earnestly as to bring this affair to a conclusion at any rate, without giving themselves the least concern for the preservation of the Cardinal's honour and credit. The Abbé Charrier felt no other uneasiness than what arose from the apprehension, lest the conclusion of this treaty should be entrusted to any one but himself ; although he had obtained a positive promise from the Cardinal to the contrary, and that when it should be thought necessary to bring matters to an issue, his eminency would give him a letter of credence, in virtue of which he might adjust the articles with M. le Tellier, and might terminate the affair, to the prejudice of Pennacors, who had taken upon himself the whole trouble of conducting this negotiation from the first. In order to fortify his eminency in this resolution, the Abbé incessantly represented to him, that Pennacors and the bishop of Coutance were destitute of all credit and influence, and had been employed on the occasion by M. le Tellier, purposely that he might, with the greater facility, break through his engagements ; and that it would therefore be for the Cardinal's interest to chuse a more powerful mediator, for which office he strongly recommended himself to his eminency's choice, as being closely connected with the marshal de Villeroi, the intimate friend of M. le Tellier. All the other friends of Cardinal de Retz strongly dissuaded him, in their letters, from employing those two persons to conduct this negotiation, and they agreed universally in this point, although they were much divided amongst themselves in other respects ; each being desirous to obtain the management of the treaty, with the view of benefiting thereby his own private interests, yet almost every one disapproving of his eminency's intention to resign his see. But the Cardinal, without consulting them any further, suddenly resolved to make
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a tender of his resignation, declaring that he could no longer dispense with adopting that step, and that he should otherwise embarrass the affair with such a number of difficulties, as would render its completion in a manner impracticable. The conditions, however, which he required, exclusive of those offered by the court, as already mentioned, consisted of the three following articles only. 1. That full restitution should be made to him of all his revenues, to whatever sum they might amount. 2. That the Marquis de Chandenier should be re-instated in his post, or that he should receive a satisfactory compensation: which article was the result of the earnest solicitations of M. le Clerc, whom the Marquis had sent to Holland expressly on that business. 3. That a full and unrestricted pardon should be granted to M. d'Anneri, who should also be re-established in all his former possessions: the Prince of Condé had already obtained the like favour for the Marquis de Crégui. Joli, observing all that passed, concluded that it was a finished affair, and moreover, he had not forgot the readiness with which Cardinal de Retz had formerly yielded his resignation to du Flos Davanton. Nevertheless, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with in future, he determined to make one effort more, to dissuade his eminency from precipitating matters, by representing to him that the mode of conduct, which he was about to adopt, did not at all agree with the letter which he had written to the King, in which he grounded his refusal, hitherto, to comply with the demand of his resignation, on the prejudice which the interests of the church would sustain by his compliance, and on motives of conscience; that it was contrary to the dictates of honour and decency thus suddenly to alter his determination, and to confine himself to conditions which were merely secular; that it would be improper to proceed thus far any otherwise than by very slow degrees; that he would risque nothing by delay, and that he would at any time be admitted to capitulate on those terms; that, therefore, in order, to secure his honour and credit, he might acquaint his Majesty, that he should ever be ready to pay
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all due deference to his will and pleasure, the moment that he could do it conscientiously and without infringing upon the laws of the church ; that, to prove to his Majesty that he was restrained by this consideration alone, he might consent to resign his see, whenever a written declaration, under the hands of a certain number of prelates and doctors of the Sorbonne, should be produced to him, purporting that he might adopt that step with safety to his conscience ; that from hence one of these two consequences must arise either that the King would no longer insist on the article of the resignation, or that his eminency's conduct would be fully justified in the eyes of the whole world : after which he might treat upon the conditions. But Joli was not attended to : his expedients were considered as trifling and mean subterfuges, and it was resolved to dispatch Pennacors to Paris without any further delay. The grand difficulty was to do it in such a manner, that the Abbé Charrier, to whom the Cardinal had promised a letter of credence, as before mentioned, should not take offence on the occasion. To remove this obstacle, his eminency could find no other means than to give to each of them, with the most strict injunctions to secrecy, separate credentials : after which they both departed, nearly at the same time, highly satisfied with the parts which they were about to act, and full of the idea of the great advantages which they should derive from their commissions. This little deception had been executed totally without the knowledge of Joli : but scarcely had the parties quitted Amsterdam, before the Cardinal acquainted him with what he had done, alledging, in excuse of his conduct, the importunities of the Abbé Charrier, against whom he inveighed with much vehemence. He then ordered Joli to write a letter to Pennacors, to request that he would not be offended at the circumstance, and that he would suffer the Abbé to enjoy the trifling satisfaction of conversing with M. le Tellier on the matter, assuring him, moreover, that he depended on him alone for the completion of the treaty. To this Joli replied, that he should certainly obey his eminency's orders, but that he was of opinion that Pennacors would not easily

easily be induced to put up with a finessè of this nature : that, moreover, there was cause to fear, that M. le Tellier might be displeased that his eminency had given this commission to the Abbé Charrier, who he knew had been before employed in the affair by M. Fouquet, and that from hence he might take occasion to reject both the credentials, and totally to drop the negotiation, with which, most probably, he would never afterwards give himself any further trouble. This argument struck Cardinal de Retz so forcibly, that he dispatched a courier, in all haste, to the Abbé Charrier. The messenger overtook him at Brussels, and delivered to him express orders from the Cardinal to suppress the letter of credence and not to suffer it to be seen by any person whatever, for certain reasons, which had arisen since his departure : and these orders arrived very opportunely, seeing that, the two agents having met together on the road, and the Abbé having been unable to refrain from boasting of the credentials with which he was furnished, Pennacors was so much surprized and displeased therewith, that he immediately wrote to the Cardinal, in very sharp terms, acquainting him that he would no longer take any part in his affairs, if he did not instantly revoke a power by which he (Pennacors) was dishonoured.

The Abbé Charrier, having received these orders, lowered his tone considerably, and Pennacors, finding by Joli's letters that proper care had been taken to give him satisfaction, pursued his journey without any further inquietude. Upon his arrival at Paris, he waited on M. le Tellier, and informed him of the state in which matters were, and of the new proposals made by Cardinal de Retz, adding that his eminency was ready to repair to Commercy, or to any other part of the kingdom that his majesty should please to appoint, there to execute the instrument of his resignation, provided that he might be furnished with a sum of money sufficient to defray the expences of his journey, to be deducted from the revenue of his benefices. These proposals were communicated to the King, but his Majesty would not engage to restore any other part of his

revenues

revenues than what had been paid into the treasury, nor would he consent to re-establish the Marquis de Chandenier in his former post. Pennacors returned to Holland with this declaration, and the Cardinal did not think proper to insist too far upon those two articles. They afterwards nearly adjusted all matters between them, on the grounds of a promise which was made to his eminency, that care should be taken to satisfy the Marquis de Chandenier. However, as that nobleman and his friends exclaimed very loudly against the Cardinal at Paris, he judged it proper to send Joli thither, to appease their murmurs, and to explain that article to them in a manner with which they should have cause to be contented: and to this he was further induced, by the consideration, that it was requisite that he should depute some trusty person, to be a witness on his behalf to the proposals and promises of M. le Tellier, which had hitherto been communicated to him solely by Pennacors, who was almost wholly dependent on that minister, and to receive the money which he had demanded for his journey.

Joli would fain have excused himself from this commission, having no inclination to appear in a treaty of which he did not approve, nor to subject himself to the murmurs and reproaches of the Marquis de Chandenier and the other malecontents, who complained that they had been abandoned by the Cardinal: but he was at length obliged to yield and to depart for Paris. On his arrival at that city, his first care was to wait upon the Marquis de Chandenier, for the purpose of persuading him to accept of an advantageous compensation for his post: to which he was, with great difficulty, brought to consent. He next demanded an audience of M. le Tellier, who appointed a meeting with him at the convent of the Celestines. After various contestations, he at length obtained a promise from that minister that the sum of six hundred thousand livres [twenty-five thousand pounds sterling] should be given to the Marquis de Chandenier, and that he would take upon himself to prevail on the first president Lamoignon, the intimate friend of the Marquis, to ratify

ratify this agreement respecting the recompence. But this whole negotiation was rendered ineffectual by the obstinacy of that officer, who refused to accept of the above sum, insisting on being reinstated in his post : for which he was blamed by every one, and the Cardinal was as universally justified, as having done all that could be reasonably expected from him in an affair of that nature, in which it was neither easy, nor even possible for him to obtain better terms, seeing that it was with his sovereign that he had entered into treaty. After this Joli soon adjusted every preliminary with M. le Tellier, who promised to furnish him with two thousand louis-d'ors, for the expence of the Cardinal's journey, together with a passport for his eminency and all the persons of his retinue : which having been accordingly executed, Joli departed from Paris in company with Pennacors, who carried with him a model of the instrument of resignation, and repaired to Brussels, where he found the Cardinal. They proceeded from thence all together to Commercy, which place they reached at the expiration of a week.

The Cardinal, immediately upon his arrival at Commercy, executed the instrument of his resignation of the archbishopric of Paris, which was drawn up according to the model sent him by the court, in presence of two notaries, and delivered it into the hands of Pennacors and Joli, with orders to carry it, without delay, to M. le Tellier, and to endeavour to obtain restitution of a part of his revenues, of which he stood in great need, to pay his creditors and to provide for his subsistence. His Majesty, having been shewn this instrument, expressed himself in pretty favourable terms respecting Cardinal de Retz, and hinted that he should have no cause to repent of having resigned his see. Some of his eminency's friends put such a construction on this declaration as was favourable to their wishes, and inferred that it was the King's intent to restore to him his archbishopric, but they were soon undeceived in that point : for his Majesty nominated M. de Marca, the archbishop of Toulouze, to that post ; after which he conferred the abbey of St. Dennis

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on the Cardinal, together with another small abbey, in the dutchy of Retz, and of which the revenue is no more than two thousand livres [about 80*l*. sterling] a year. He also received, in virtue of an order from the King, fifty thousand livres in advance, till the bulls of the new archbishop should be issued by the court of Rome, not having been able to obtain a larger sum, nor to procure the recal of the exiles: and it was even declared by M. le Tellier, that the Cardinal must not expect that his Majesty should hasten the execution of that, or any of the other articles of the treaty, till M. de Merca should be first put in full possession of the archbishopric. All that the court would consent to grant him was, a permission to enjoy the revenues of the abbey of St. Dennis, provisionally, till the final completion of the treaty. From this manifest breach of faith, many of the Cardinal's partizans took occasion to inveigh with great vehemence against that treaty, in the conducting of which they had had no share: observing that, had it been committed to their management, they would have taken sufficient care to guard against those difficulties: that, as his eminency had fully complied with the terms of his engagements, the court was bound to do the like with respect to him; that expedients would easily be found to delay the business of expediting the bulls, and to render the Cardinal, thereby, incapable of fulfilling the contracts he had entered into; adding many other remarks, which gave his eminency infinite uneasiness: and that more particularly, as the court of Rome neglected to issue the bulls for the space of upwards of three years. This circumstance, however, did not arise from any other cause than merely the usual dilatoriness of that court, and from the endeavours of M. de Marco to obtain the gratis, or a remission, at least, of part of the customary expences.

But, even admitting that these complaints appeared not to be altogether destitute of foundation, yet it must also be allowed that his Majesty's ministers acted on good grounds in thus protracting matters; having fresh in their memories the former conduct of Cardinal de Retz, in revoking his first resignation, immediately after his escape from the castle of Nantes, which furnished them

with

with a just pretext for providing against a similar occurrence in future, and for delaying the payment of his revenues till every thing should be finally adjusted.

Had Cardinal de Retz paid due attention to the above considerations, he would have submitted to the inconvenience with a better grace, and would not have given himself up, as he did on every occasion, to that violence of passion, which led him to say and do a thousand extravagancies, even to swearing in the grossest manner, that, in order to revenge himself of the court, he would resign his hat, and would become a member of the brotherhood of Benedictine monks, at a little monastery situated at Breuil, near the gates of Commercy. He seriously resented the conduct of those who made a jest of his whims of this kind ; and this recalls to my remembrance one of his unguarded expressions, which was most particularly ridiculous and unworthy of his eminency, and which he never failed to make use of whenever he received any fresh displeasure from the Pope. On these occasions he would declare that, for the purpose of incensing his Holiness, he would embrace the Hugonot persuasion, and that he would afterwards make a furious attack on the tenets of the church of Rome. From hence it will be readily conceived, that resentment and rage predominated strongly in the disposition of the Cardinal. However, in the midst of all his vexations, he did not neglect to divert himself, as much as possible, at Commercy, where, in fact, he chose to reside rather than at any other place, although he endeavoured to persuade all his friends, who came from Paris to visit him, of the contrary, incessantly exclaiming in their presence, against the conduct of the court, in suffering him to languish there for so long a time. To this he added an assertion, which was still more artful and false, that, if any thing could render that melancholy abode supportable, it was the consideration of the small expence at which he lived there, which he hoped would enable him, in time, to discharge all his debts ; a duty with which he endeavoured to appear to be solely occupied, although, in fact, it was, at that period, the least of all his cares ; which became manifest, in the sequel, to those who examined more closely into his affairs : for

he laid out upwards of one hundred thousand livres [above 4000*l.* sterling] in the purchase of silver plate, merely to gratify his vanity. He further expended a sum exceeding thirty thousand crowns [near 4000*l.* sterling] in building at his palace at Commercy, and that without the least necessity. Not but that Joli, who continued at Paris, and who obtained, from time to time, (although with no small difficulty) various sums from the treasury for his eminency's use, employed that money, as far as he was able, to the payment of some of the Cardinal's creditors: but this was commonly done contrary to the inclination of Cardinal de Retz, and particularly of his equerry Malclerc, who drew all the money into his own hands as much as possible, under the pretext of preventing those ridiculous expences, which he himself nevertheless suggested to him, and of which he never rendered any manner of account. It is certain, nevertheless, that, from this time, the Cardinal became possessed of other sums, the knowledge of which circumstance he carefully concealed from the public, and that this money was sent him by the King of England. The last bills of exchange (to the value of 2000*l.* sterling, or 26,000 livres of our money *) had been delivered to him by Meade at Brussels, but a few days before his departure from thence for Commercy: but, those bills not being due at that time, he sent Du Flos Davanton, who had recently entered into his service, to Amsterdam, on which place they were drawn, to procure other bills on Paris, which were paid in louis d'ors and Spanish pistoles, and the amount of which he placed in the hands of an uncle of Malclerc, named

* The reader is desired to observe, that the standard for ascertaining the amount of French money in English is very different, at the present period, from what it was in the middle of the last century: the time referred to in this passage. It appears that the par of the pound sterling in French money, was then thirteen livres; whereas the present par (at the rate of ten-pence sterling to the livre, according to which all the equations in the foregoing pages have been formed) is twenty-four livres. From hence therefore, it results, that these equations are, very nearly, 50 per cent. deficient of their real amount. The last edict, regulating the value of the coin in France, was issued in 1726.

named Taille-Fumieres, provost of the chapter of Com-
 mercy, and of his valet Claudon. Besides the above
 sum, there is reason to believe that his eminency, af-
 terwards, received others, of a larger amount, from that
 monarch : for it is certain that, upon another occasion,
 he was desirous of sending the same person to Eng-
 land, with Malclerc, for the purpose of receiving a
 sum of upwards of fifteen thousand pounds sterling,
 which was destined towards defraying the expences of
 the negotiation for the Cardinal's hat for M. d'Aubigny.
 But, Davanton having expressed an unwillingness to
 undertake a business of this nature, of the danger of
 which he was well aware, nothing further was said to
 him on the subject, and the equerry went thither alone,
 under the pretext of complimenting the King, in his
 eminency's name, on the recovery of the Queen, who
 had been at the point of death. It has never been
 known whether Malclerc brought that money back
 with him or not: but thus much is certain, that, after
 his return, he made several mysterious short journies,
 apparently with the view of negotiating the bills of ex-
 change which he had received, drawn on different
 cities, and that, at this time, the strongest efforts were
 made in behalf of M. d'Aubigny at the court of Rome ;
 the King of England neglecting nothing to procure his
 advancement to the Cardinalship, the accomplishment
 of which design engrossed that monarch's attention in a
 very considerable degree. The chancellor, who did
 not much approve of this negotiation, yet dared not
 openly oppose it: on the contrary, he sent Belling,
 his secretary, who was a Catholic, to Rome, with the
 pretended view of promoting it, but in reality, to ob-
 struct it underhand ; and it is certain that M. d'Aubigny
 was at once the dupe of that minister and of Cardinal
 de Retz, and that they took his money without render-
 ing him any service ; seeing that his eminency had very
 little credit at Rome, and that, in reality, the Cardinal
 was not well-affected to him, whether on account of any
 secret jealousy that he entertained of him, or from any
 other cause. This even shewed itself in his common
 discourse, in which he censured M. d'Aubigny with

great freedom, although he constantly pretended to rank himself amongst the number of his friends.

During these transactions, advice was received that the bulls of M. de Marca * had, at length, been issued by the court of Rome; which circumstance gave some degree of satisfaction to his eminency's little court. But this satisfaction was but of short duration, the news arriving, nearly at the same time, of the death of that prelate, before he had taken possession of his see. This accident occasioned new obstacles to arise to the execution of the promises which had been made to Cardinal de Retz, and gave birth to fresh murmurs on his side, which he artfully coloured, in the presence of certain persons, with the pretext of the uneasiness which he felt, on account of the delay of recalling those ecclesiastics, who had been exiled in consequence of their attachment to him, although he, in fact, was but little affected by their situation. These murmurs were converted into imprecations, when it was known that M. de Rhodéz had been nominated to the archbishopric of Paris; but these maledictions and transports of rage were carried to the utmost excess, when the intelligence arrived of the insult which the Duke de Crequi had received at Rome, the effects of which Cardinal de Retz naturally concluded he should ultimately experience, in the hindrance it would prove to the business of expediting the bulls of the new archbishop.

The Duke de Crequi, in some sort, drew upon himself this insult, which gave rise to the subsequent disputes between the King and Alexander the seventh, and for which the court exacted a reparation, which astonished all Europe. A short time before his departure on his embassy to Rome, the Duke had granted his protection to a [*Bréteur*] professed bully, and had, rather

* M. de Marca died on the 29th of June 1662, in the 68th year of his age. He had filled the several stations of president of the parliament of Pau, counsellor of state, and archbishop of Thoulouse. He had been nominated to the archbishopric of Paris, and died in sight of the promised land, but without setting foot on it.

ther imprudently admitted him into his retinue. This man, who could not live without fighting, was of so quarrelsome a disposition, that he one day, alone and without any manner of cause, attacked several Corsicans, who chanced to be passing near him, and this affair was carried so far, that the Corsicans resolved to rid themselves of him privately. He, however, being informed of their design, found means to make his escape: but the Corsicans, being greatly incensed, and encouraged, perhaps, underhand in their licentious conduct, proceeded to several acts of the utmost insolence towards the ambassador. But to return to Cardinal de Retz: his friends at Paris, instead of quieting his mind, only augmented his uneasiness, by insinuating to him, that the delays which had arisen in his affairs were to be imputed, solely, to the small estimation in which the bishop of Coutance and Pennacors were held by the court, and that, if his eminency would entrust them with the management of his concerns, and would advance as far as Joigny, under the pretence of an interview with the Duke de Retz, his brother, for the purpose of conferring with him on their domestic affairs, they engaged to obtain for him the permission to wait on his Majesty, and all the other favours which had been, hitherto, refused him.

Cardinal de Retz adopted this proposal without hesitation: and, although Joli warned him that his friends presumed too far, and that he would find himself deceived in his expectations, he nevertheless began his journey, on the strength of the assurances which had been given him, that M. le Tellier had promised the Marshal de Villeroi, that he would exert all his endeavours to procure for the Cardinal the liberty of paying his respects to the King. The event justified Joli's prediction. For this journey was not only totally unserviceable, but even very disadvantageous and disgraceful to his eminency, as he was obliged to return immediately to Commercy, there to continue till the arrival of the bulls from Rome.

In the mean time, the disputes at the court of Rome, respecting the affair of the Duke de Crequi, grew every day

day more violent, and at length produced an open rupture. As the King's ministers entertained an opinion, that they might stand in need of the assistance of the Cardinal and his friends on this occasion, they began to shew him a greater degree of favour than they had hitherto done. M. le Tellier even acquainted Joli, strictly enjoining him to secrecy at the same time, that his Majesty was desirous of knowing the Cardinal's sentiments, with regard to the conduct which ought to be pursued towards the Holy See in the present conjuncture, and also with regard to the kind of satisfaction which might be demanded, in case matters should be brought to an accommodation; and he also hinted to Joli the great advantages which might result to the Cardinal, should his advice be approved and be attended with success. Joli did not place much dependance on these hopes: but, as nothing is to be neglected in such cases, he immediately dispatched a courier to Cardinal de Retz, to inform him of the matter. His eminency returned an answer, with his opinion on the several questions proposed by the minister, and in that opinion he recommended amongst other articles, that a pyramid should be erected, and to insist that the Cardinal Patron should be sent, in quality of legate, into France, to make reparation to his Majesty. These two articles had never been thought on by the court, and they were so much approved, that the above opinion was sent to the Duke de Crequi, with orders to make it, in every point, the ground work of his negotiations in that affair, which was terminated, in effect conformably to the Cardinal's plan; although his eminency did not derive the least advantage therefrom on the side of the court.

In a short time afterwards, however, another incident arose, relating to the same affair; the Cardinals residing at Rome having sent to [their brethren] at the different courts of Europe a circular letter, requesting them to use all their good offices and all their endeavours, to terminate a dispute of so much consequence to the Holy See. Cardinal de Retz, having received one of these letters, immediately sent it to Joli, with orders

orders to communicate it to M. le Tellier, and to acquaint him, that his eminency was determined to answer it in whatever terms his Majesty should be pleased to dictate to him; but, as the ministers were themselves much at a loss to decide on the conduct which they ought to pursue, M. le Tellier told Joli, that the Cardinal might return whatever answer he should judge proper, and that the King would approve of all that he should do in the affair. Nevertheless, as it was well known what constructions should be put on all such declarations, in affairs of that nature, Cardinal de Retz, in a few days, sent his answer, open to the minister, drawn up in two different forms, which varied from each other in some few expressions only. This letter was composed by Joli. It was turned into Latin by M. Flechier,* who, at that time, attended upon the eldest son of M. Caumartin. The letter contained, in substance, that Cardinal de Retz, was willing to render the Holy See every service of which he should be judged capable; but he conceived, that no means would prove so efficacious, as those which the Sacred College would employ at Rome, to induce his Holiness to make due reparation to the King for so injurious an outrage, and that their eminencies ought to recollect, on this occasion, that the Kings of France are the eldest sons of the church, and that that church owed its first establishment in the West, solely to their protection and favour.

This perhaps was nothing so very extraordinary, but M. le Tellier was, nevertheless, highly pleased with it, having told Joli that the letter was admirable, and that Cardinal de Retz had omitted nothing which ought to have been said, nor inserted any thing which ought to have been omitted, and that what surprized him the most was, that his eminency's language was like that of a man
who

* Esprit Flechier; he died in 1710, in the 78th year of his age. His merit had preferred him to the bishopric of Lavaur in 1685, and afterwards to that of Nismes, in 1687. He had been admitted a member of the French Academy in 1673, in the room of M. Godeau, bishop of Vence.

who had spent all his days in the councils of the King. This flattered the Cardinal's vanity to that degree, that he read the above letter, together with the other writing, to every one who visited him, as being the best pieces which he had ever composed; deceiving in this manner the whole world, and even his friend, the bishop of Châlons. But he derived little advantage from all these circumstances, nor did they at all abate the rigour of the court towards him, which, it may be said, was carried to an unreasonable and preposterous length, in their refusal, not only to permit him to pay his respects to the King, from whence no material consequence could have arisen,* but also to suffer him to visit his father, who was at the point of death, whom he had never seen from the time of his imprisonment, and who died at the oratory, on the very same day with M. de Marca: so that the Cardinal was obliged to remain at Commercy, without any other occupation, than the pursuit of those pleasures to which idleness commonly flies for relief. However, with the view of disguising to the world this life of supineness and sloth, he, from time to time, employed himself in some actions, the speciousness of which served to impose upon the people. He once or twice a week caused all the peasants, who resided on his lands, to be assembled, with great parade, under the pretext of hearing and determining their complaints, and as if matters of great importance had required his decision. Setting aside the ostentation, his design in this might, probably, be very good; but, besides that he was not at all versed in affairs and in judicial proceedings, it often happened that Malclerc and his relation, the Abbé de St. Avaux, a Benedictine, defeated the equitable and kind intentions of his eminency, who had not resolution sufficient to contradict them. They would frequently whisper in his ear during the audience, and from hence sprung many acts of injustice, attended by the complaints of those who were condemned without cause, and the raillery of those who saw through this little artifice. The inhabitants of Commercy gave the nickname of *his black Eminency* to the Benedictine, and entitled the equerry *his*

his grey Eminency,* and, in any suits which they (the inhabitants) chanced to have depending, they always preferred their applications to them rather than to his red eminency, finding, by experience, that without their protection and support, the favour of the Cardinal was totally useless to them.

Cardinal de Retz endeavoured, also, to induce an opinion, that he was occupied with another business, which had already done him honour in the world, and which perfectly suited with his situation at that time. The business in question was that of composing, with his own hand, a Latin history of the troubles of Paris, and of his own adventures, for which no person was so well qualified as himself, would he have applied himself closely to it, and have paid a due regard to truth in his narration : but this, like all his other projects, vanished in smoke and in mere vanity. The Cardinal contented himself with reading to every person who visited him two or three pages of his Latin history, which were excellently penned, it must be confessed, and which he had begun to compose during the time of his imprisonment at Vincennes, with the assistance of M. Vacherot, his physician, under the title of *Partus Vincennarum*. He feigned an inclination to continue it at Commercy, constantly appearing to be busily engaged in turning over the leaves of a large Calepin's Lexicon, during those hours in which he was at a loss for employment, and when the weather would not permit him to amuse himself either in hunting or walking. However, he stopped at these two or three pages, to which those, who were well acquainted with his character, are fully convinced that he never made any material addition during the whole course of his life, through the natural indolence of his disposition and his fondness for pleasure. This fondness had gained so great an ascendancy over him, that when Joli, through an excess of affection for him, endeavoured, by his remonstrances and reproaches, to induce him to abandon this idle and enervated mode of life, all that he could obtain from him was a disgraceful avowal of

* The title of his grey Eminency had already been formerly given to Pere Joseph, the favourite of Cardinal de Richlieu.

his infirmities. "My good friend," said he, "thou lovest thy time in preaching to me thus: I well know myself to be an idle fellow; but, in spite of you and all the world, I will persist in that idleness, because I find therein the most pleasure. I am very sensible there are three or four of you, who penetrate into my real character, and who heartily despise me; but this gives me no concern, as I have the satisfaction of imposing on the rest of the world, and that too even by your means. Mankind are so effectually deceived, and my reputation is so firmly established, that, even were you inclined to disabuse them, you would not be able to gain credit with them: and this consideration is sufficient to satisfy me, and to induce me to live in whatever manner best pleases me."

But, as vanity was one of his most powerful passions, he therefore, employed himself, with the utmost eagerness and good will, in another business at certain times. This was in forming a genealogy of the house of Gondy. He piqued himself in finding therein upwards of five hundred [*quartiers*] quarters without one degrading alliance. He, twenty or thirty times, sent for Verjus and Gautrai, his two secretaries, to add or to correct something in this genealogy, which he continually read, without reason or cause, to all those who had access to him, insomuch as to disgust them to the highest degree, and to cause them to avoid entering his apartment. This genealogy, in short, was copied an infinite number of times, and was sent to d'Hosier, to be put in order and to be designed, as if it had been that of one of the greatest monarchs in the world. Nevertheless, after all this care and trouble, nothing further was done in the affair, as was the case with all his other works.*

In order to compleat the picture of the Cardinal's domestic life, I shall observe, that one of the whims to which he was addicted, was that of writing, through mere ostentation, five or six letters every post to his correspondents at Paris, taking great delight in making a
shew

* The Ducheſs de Lesdiguières cauſed this genealogy to be publiſhed in the year 1682.

shew of large port-folios and voluminous and elegant writings to his secretaries, of whom the one, named Gautrai, scarcely had any employ whatever from his eminency, and Verjus little more. The Cardinal, however, affected to place a great confidence in them: but, in fact, his secrets, if he had any which deserved the appellation, were entrusted to no one but Malclerc, or to the Abbé de Saint Avaux, who had insensibly introduced himself into the post of third secretary, for the correspondence with those, who were displeased that his eminency's resignation had not passed through their hand, as also for the management of all those trifling concerns, which he did not chuse to communicate to his agents at Paris, on account of the irregular state in which they had remained ever since the time of his resignation. This, therefore, is nearly an exact account of the manner of life which the Cardinal led, during the whole time of his stay at Commercy. He, at first, fixed his abode there at a private house: often repairing to his palace, under the pretext of viewing the buildings which were carrying on. He would afterwards shut himself up in Malclerc's apartment, where that trusty equerry pretended that his eminency had retired to sleep; but the rest of his attendants were of opinion, that he was occupied with certain amusements, which were adapted to his constitution.

At length, the disputes with the court of Rome having been adjusted, and the bulls of the archbishopric of Paris having been expedited, in favour of M. Perefixe, Cardinal de Retz obtained the permission, so often refused, to pay his respects to the King, who, was then at Fontainebleau, from whence orders were issued for recalling the canons and curates who had been exiled; but this was done in a manner, which shewed that it was but the execution of a disagreeable treaty; and without any marks of courtesy or favour towards the Cardinal. The ministers conducted themselves, in every transaction which related to his affairs, with such harshness and with so little unreserve, that there was reason to believe that they dreaded his appearance at court. Not that they suffered this to appear in the least degree in their discourse: on the contrary, according to the custom of the

the court, they each in particular expressed the greatest readiness to serve him, shifting the blame of all that the Cardinal had suffered on each other. M. le Tellier,* especially, did not neglect, at times, to point out, pretty distinctly, M. Colbert, as being the sole author of all the harsh treatment which his eminency had experienced, as also of all those measures which had excited the murmurs of the public.

This appearance of a division between those ministers gave hopes to some of the friends of Cardinal de Retz, that he might be able to draw an advantage from the circumstance, and that one of them might, possibly, enter into engagements with him, were it only for the purpose of annoying his rival. These persons imagined, also, that his reputation and his prudence would produce a considerable effect at court, where they had, with great assiduity, formed several little intrigues, with the Marshal de Villeroy and some other persons, whose credit was but small, and who, secretly, made a jest of the Cardinal and his friends. Under the influence of these hopes, they, with the utmost eagerness, went to meet him as far as Joigny, as to meet a hero, to give him instructions, relative to every the minutest particular of the conduct which he should pursue at the ensuing audience. They also affected to accompany him to Fontainebleau, without once losing sight of him; but, unfortunately, all the preparations which they had made, with so much industry, proved of no effect.

The Cardinal arrived at Fontainebleau. He waited on his Majesty, and appeared, on the occasion, in the eyes of the ministers and of the courtiers, in a light so little answerable to the ideas which they had formed to themselves, that, from that very instant, they no longer either esteemed or feared him. Those who had been inclined to serve him now began to abate of their ardour, and to consider him as a person, who was incapable of availing himself, with the King, of the designs

* It was never doubted but that M. le Tellier entertained a secret jealousy of M. Colbert; because the King had frequent private conversations with him, and appeared to place much dependance on his advice.

designs which they might have conceived in his favour. In a word, Cardinal de Retz appeared, to the view of the most penetrating, what he was in reality, and what those who were acquainted with his character had so long assisted to conceal from the world.

Nevertheless, as this happened at Fontainebleau, as it was, in fact, known but to few persons, and as those who had discovered something, were, as yet, doubtful whether their conjectures were well or ill founded, he still maintained his reputation at Paris, most of the nobility visited him at St. Dennis, whither he went to reside upon quitting Fontainebleau : and it must be confessed that, when there, he wore an air of greater freedom and far less embarrassment than he had shewn at the late audience.

He was permitted to remain a considerable time at St. Dennis, or rather at Pierrefite, a little village in that neighbourhood ; but, at length, it became necessary that he should return to Commercy, the plea of regulating his affairs being no longer deemed admissible, although he endeavoured to give it all possible weight. It had, in reality, no foundation : the only concern which required his attention, and with which he was fully occupied, being the means of removing a large trunk from Paris. The Cardinal acknowledged, in confidence and under the seal of secrecy, to Davanton, that this trunk contained a very large sum of money, and he was commissioned to bring it from Paris, where Malclerc had prepared a carriage for the purpose, after having been strictly enjoined, to take good care that it should be so well filled, that no motion of the carriage should discover what it contained, and to assist Malclerc in conveying it to Pierrefite. Malclerc, affecting still more mysteriousness than his master, would never open this coffer in the presence of Davanton, having thought it sufficient to tell him, that there were between nine and ten thousand pounds in it, together with some cloaths. However, he expressed so much uneasiness, lest any accident should happen to it on the road, that there is reason to believe that the sum was far more considerable ; more especially as Malclerc several times manifested an apprehension, that the great weight of the trunk

trunk would break the axle-tree of the coach, on which it was fastened. Be that as it may, there is good cause to suspect, that this money had been received from England, from whence Malclerc had brought it, in bills of exchange, at the time of his last voyage to that kingdom : but it is difficult to form a judgment of the sum to which it might amount, that being known to no one but the equerry and the Abbé de St. Avaux, the latter of whom, some time after the safe arrival of the trunk at Pierrefite, dropped an expression in the presence of Davanton, purporting that it contained only eighteen or twenty thousand pounds : which declaration agreed neither with what the Cardinal had formerly told him, (Davanton) nor with the above-mentioned confession of Malclerc. At length, his eminency departed, two days afterwards, from Pierrefite, having exerted all his endeavours, during the whole time of his stay in the neighbourhood of Paris, to create a disagreement amongst the major part of his friends, and amongst those who were entrusted with the management of his affairs ; inso-much that the Abbé de Lamet, Joli, and Verjus began, even at that time, to entertain thoughts of quitting his service, plainly perceiving that he no longer placed the same confidence in them as formerly ; that he made a mystery to them of the most trifling affairs, and, above all, that he was guilty of repeated little acts of malice, which were very unbecoming his character. Had this separation taken place at the period of time in question, it would, doubtless, have produced further consequences, and would have been attended with the defection of a considerable number of his best friends ; but Joli re-accommodated matters, having represented to the malecontents, that it would be more honourable to wait the final conclusions of the Cardinal's affairs, seeing that his eminency alledged, that some of the articles of his treaty were still unexecuted, and that certain monies yet remained due to him from the treasury.

This reconciliation was not of long duration : for, his Majesty having, soon afterwards, taken the resolution to depute Cardinal de Retz to Rome, and his eminency having been sent for, accordingly, from Commercy, no sooner did the parties meet again, than the former dis-
gufts

gufts were revived, with as much violence as before, because the Cardinal continued to act in the same manner as had at first given birth to these disagreements. His affairs, therefore, being now finally terminated, the Abbé de Lamet, Joli, Verjus, Davanton, and Rousseau, deeming themselves no longer bound by any considerations of honour, determined to withdraw themselves, and to take leave of him at St. Dennis, where he chanced to be at that time. This separation, however, gave the Cardinal some uneasiness. He even endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, again to lure those persons into a reconciliation, as he had formerly done at Pierrefite; but neither of them would put any further trust in him, and they were all charmed with having found an opportunity of quitting a man, with whom they had connected themselves merely from motives of honour and inclination, without any other view whatsoever, and in whose service they had not only constantly lived at their own charge, but had also, on several occasions, expended considerable sums for the purpose of doing him credit, without receiving, nevertheless, (at least in the latter years) any proof of gratitude from him, as was certainly due to their affection, and to as disinterested an attachment as ever existed. Thus, Cardinal de Retz, who was sensible of the loss he should sustain in these five persons, intreated, wept, swore, and used a thousand protestations, to detain them, but all without effect. They left him, with joy and even with a degree of contempt, in the hands of his equerry Malclerc, and of the Abbé de St. Avaux, who, from that time, composed his whole council. It is true that Messrs. Caumartin and d'Hacqueville still continued to interest themselves in his affairs. The first obtained from him the Abbey of Buzay for one of his children, and the other a pension of two thousand crowns [about 250*l.* sterling] a year, which was paid him regularly, every quarter, by Malclerc: but a material difference must be made between those gentlemen, who were connected with his eminency by a long established friendship, by inclination, and by habit, and his other two counsellors, whom, it is well known that, they held in very slight estimation,

tion, although they kept up a certain degree of appearance with them.

The only instance in which Cardinal de Retz acted with some small regard to honour and conscience, at this separation, was in causing the sum of ten thousand crowns to be paid to Joli, which had been due to him from the time of his eminency's imprisonment; but neither of these persons received the least gratification for his services; and the Cardinal did not even give himself any concern about what money might be due to Davanton, for the expences of several short journies, which he had undertaken on his eminency's business and by his orders.

These five persons having, accordingly, taken their leave of Cardinal de Retz, on the day following the feast of Our Lady in March 1655, he departed two days afterwards, to return to Commercy. He afterwards began his journey to Rome, to assist at the conclave, in which Clement the ninth was chosen to succeed Alexander the seventh; but he could not refrain from indulging, once more, his propensity to censure Joli upon every occasion, declaring that it was through his suggestions that he had been induced to undertake this journey to Italy, against his inclination. He carefully avoided, however mentioning this circumstance in his presence, well knowing that the accusation was false and totally void of all foundation: but he spoke of it to Messrs. Caumartin and Hacqueville, and to several other persons, in order that he might have the pleasure of railing against Joli with some shew of reason, and, at the same time, to conceal from them the true motive, by which he had been compelled to undertake this journey: a step which had justly surprized them; seeing that no certain intelligence had, hitherto, been received of the Pope's death, or that he was even in danger. Joli was as much astonished at the circumstance as themselves, not knowing at that time, what he has since discovered, that by one of the secret articles of the treaty between the Cardinal and the court, and which had been negotiated by Pennacors, his eminency had engaged to return to Rome whenever the King should require, and after that he should have had the honour to
pay

pay his respects to him : to which article the Cardinal had consented (although with no small repugnance) from a dread lest the accommodation between him and the court should not otherwise take place. And of this he was so extremely apprehensive, that there was no proposal which could have been made to him, however harsh and degrading, of which he would not have accepted through a desire of extricating himself from his difficulties. Here I conclude these Memoirs.

END OF GUY JOLI'S MEMOIRS.



M E M O I R S

O F

C L A U D E J O L I,

CANON OF NOTRE-DAME.

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THOSE who are unacquainted with the proceedings of the general assembly in 1655, and with the state of public affairs from that period to the year 1668, as also with the determinations of the above assembly, relative to certain infringements made by the court of Rome, on the rights of the bishops and of the whole Gallican church, tending to annihilate the regulations made by the assembly in 1650:—such persons, I say, may, possibly, judge that it was unnecessary in a detail of the transactions of the assembly in 1655, to include those of the two former, respecting certain claims, set up by his Holiness, in the year 1632 and 1633, to a right of jurisdiction in those causes, which are termed *Majeures*,† originating in France. But the sequel will evince the absolute expediency both of this recapitulation, and also of a summary account of those events which happened in the diocese of Paris, in consequence of the death of Jean-Francois Gondy, the first archbishop of that city, who died on the 21st of March 1654: as from thence it will appear that the affair of his successor, (whose interests were considered, by the clergy of Leon and Alby as being inseparably connected with those of episcopacy and the church) was the principal, if not the sole cause of the extraordinary length of the sittings of that assembly, and of the two successive ordinances, issued by the court,

* This is only part of a larger work, in manuscript.

† All criminal processes instituted against a bishop, and other similar cases come under this head.

court, for proroguing its meeting, from the 25th of May to the 25th of August, and from thence to the 25th of October 1655. As Cardinal de Retz has observed, in his letter to the archbishops and bishops of France, dated at Rome 14th of December 1654, that the circumstance which first incensed the court against him, and which, probably, laid the foundation of most of the subsequent persecutions which he had undergone, arose from his unshaken perseverance in the execution of those orders which had been given him by the assembly in 1645 ;——for this reason, it will be indispensably requisite to give an account of those persecutions hinted at by the Cardinal, from the violent effects of which neither the church of Paris, nor those persons whom he had appointed to act in his name were exempted.

The appointment of an extra number of masters of requests : the, till then, unheard-of powers delegated to certain persons, who were sent into different provinces, with an authority superseding that of the parliaments : the long delay in acquitting the demands on the fund of the Hotel de Ville of Paris, the proprietors of which were, at length, compelled to unite, and to elect a number of syndics, whose election was afterwards confirmed by the parliament : these, and several other innovations, produced a great ferment in the state, and occasioned a union of the, as yet, superior courts, each of which sent its deputies to the general assemblies, which were constantly held during this period, in the chamber of St. Louis. The court exerted all its power to prevent these assemblies, from a conviction that they strongly tended to diminish the authority both of the ministers and the Regency.

At these assemblies, the Coadjutor of Paris, whose office entitled him to a seat in the parliament, frequently attended, as did also the Abbé of St. Dennis : and, as the avowed purpose of these meetings was to oppose the measures of the government, those amongst the malecontents, whose rank and dignity were supposed to give them the most sway with the rest, were naturally deemed the principal promoters of the transactions carrying on.

In

In the year 1648, the Coadjutor delivered an oration in praise of St. Louis, in the Jesuits church, the King and Queen being present : he took his text from these words of Solomon, *Audi, fili mi, disciplinam patris tui; & legem matris tue ne dimittas*. This sermon was quickly printed, through the assiduity of Guy Joli, a counsellor of the Chatelet, one of the syndics, and the Coadjutor's intimate friend, in conjunction with a magistrate whose probity is equal to his erudition, of which the public has received the most convincing proofs in the work which he published in 1667, in defence of the claim of the Queen Maria-Theresa of Austria, daughter of Philip IV. king of Spain, to the territory of Brabant. Those who were well acquainted with him, and were judges of his style and manner of writing, entertained a strong opinion that he was the author of the above sermon.

On the next day, Wednesday, the King and Queen went to the church of Notre Dame, to be present at the Te-Deum which was performed on occasion of the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé, near Lens. The Coadjutor officiated : and, the service being over, whilst he was yet in the vestry, taking off his pontifical robes, the news was brought that Peter Broussel, a counsellor of the grand chamber, the President de Blanc-Mesnil, President of the first chamber of enquiries, and several others, had been that moment taken into custody, and that letters de Cachet had been left at the houses of some other persons, by which they were banished to the places therein specified.

When the news of this event came to the knowledge of the boat-men on the quays near St. Landri's church, in the neighbourhood of which M. Broussel resided, and the environs, they immediately assembled in a body, but without any other arms than their boat hooks. This presage of an approaching tumult gave the alarm to the companies of French and Swiss guards, which had attended their Majesties to the Te-Deum, and had remained, from that time, posted in the new street of Notre Dame, the New Market, the street of St. Louis, and on the Goldsmith's quay : but, finding, to their great astonishment, that no orders were sent for relieving them, they, of their own accord, quitted their posts, and,

and, without any regularity, carrying their muskets under their arms, without beat of drum, and unaccompanied by their principal officers, marched towards the Palais Royal.

The Coadjutor, also, repaired thither, still habited in his pontifical robes, which his haste had not permitted him to lay aside: but, as the streets were barricadoed with chains, and rows of casks, filled with dung and earth, he was compelled to go on foot. He met with a very harsh reception from the Queen, who paid no regard to his arguments, to induce her to set those persons at liberty who had been taken into custody, and to recall the exiles, although he set before her, in a strong light, the manifest danger to which the royal family was exposed, in the present critical situation of affairs. However, her Majesty yielded to the request made to her, on the subject, by the parliament, who waited on the Queen, in a body, for that purpose, on the next day. Their first application proved fruitless: but, having been compelled, by those who guarded the barricado in the quarter called the Croix du Tiroir, to return back to the Palais Royal, to reiterate their demands, they, at length, succeeded.

After the audience, the Coadjutor, with much vexation of mind, and being greatly fatigued, retired to his palace; being obliged to return thither likewise on foot. He was supported by the Abbé de Marigny and another person, and was both preceded and followed by a numerous body of people, of all ranks, who attended him to the place of his residence.

As the Queen's acquiescence with the above-mentioned application of the parliament had been, in a manner, extorted, and as even this concession did not suffice to allay the ferment, which had so suddenly arisen in the superior courts and amongst the people, her Majesty, therefore, publicly manifested her resentment, and her full determination to seize the first opportunity of gratifying her vengeance. With this view, her Majesty secretly withdrew from Paris, with the King, at a late hour of the night, on the 5th of January 1649, and retired to St. Germain en Laye. Immediately after this retreat, it was determined in the council to lay
siege

siege to the city of Paris, with the troops which were in Flanders and on the frontiers of Picardy; and the Prince of Condé took upon himself the command of the army destined for this service.

The parliament assembled on the same day, although a holiday, and issued such orders as were judged requisite for its own safety and the defence of the city. The necessary regulations were also made, in concert with the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs, and the principal inhabitants, for holding the usual meetings at the Hotel de Ville: and troops were raised, the command of which was given, in the beginning, to the Duke d'Elbeuf, who was the first person that tendered his services to the parliament and city.

Some time afterwards, the Prince of Conti, who, together with the Duke de Longueville, his brother-in-law, had quitted St. Germain en Laye and returned to Paris, was appointed generalissimo, in the room of the Duke d'Elbeuf. The Duke de Longueville went into Normandy, leaving the Dutchess, as a pledge of his fidelity, at Paris, where she was delivered, in a few days afterwards, of a son, to whom the city of Paris stood sponsors, and gave him the name of Charles-Paris d'Orleans: he was killed at the passage of the Rhine, in the year 1672, near the fort of Schenk. The Dukes of Beaufort and Bouillon, the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt, and several other officers, who either were in reality, or, at least, affected to be, disgusted with the conduct of the court and Cardinal Mazarin, were appointed lieutenant-generals, under the Prince of Conti.

The Coadjutor was so much incensed by the treatment he had experienced at the late audience, at the Palais Royal, that he resolved to give some public testimony of his displeasure; and accordingly, under colour of providing for the defence of that part of his flock contained within the walls of Paris, he raised a regiment of cavalry, to which he gave his own title, and the command of which he conferred on his relation, the Chevalier de Serrigni.

After a siege of three months, a peace was at length concluded, at Ruel: but there still subsisted two parties in the city, one in support, the other in opposition to the

court ; the latter being headed by the Duke of Beaufort, who had acquired much esteem with the people, the Coadjutor, the Dutchess de Chevreuse, Noirmoutier; and a number of others. And now, although the Prince of Condé had rendered great and eminent services to the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin, even to the total ruin of his reputation with the public, yet, as they both dreaded the greatness and power of his Highness's family, and the authority which he possessed over the army, which was composed of such regiments as were totally at the disposal of himself and his friends, orders were issued by the court for taking him into custody, together with the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville. These orders were accordingly executed, on the evening of the 18th of January 1650, by the Count de Miossians, since known by the title of Marshal d'Albret, and M. Guitaut, the captain of the Queen's guards, who conducted their prisoners, under a strong escort, to the castle of Vincennes.

The Prince of Condé having totally forfeited the esteem and affection of the Parisians, not only by his general conduct, in siding with the court against them, but also by the encouragement he had given to his troops, during the siege, in their ill-treatment both of the prisoners they made, and also of such of the country people, who ventured to carry provisions from the neighbouring villages to the city : for this reason, I say, there could be little room to imagine that his Highness's imprisonment would give rise to any commotion amongst the citizens : however, the court took every precaution to guard against any attempt, of the kind, which might be made by the domestics or the friends of the Princes. As it was observed that the Duke of Beaufort, who stood high in the opinion of the populace, rode through divers parts of the city, at ten o'clock the same night, attended by a numerous body of persons on horseback, and followed by several artizans, on foot, shouting " God save the King!" this circumstance induced a suspicion, that the Duke, the Coadjutor, and the rest of their party had some concern in the foregoing transaction. Mathew Molé, who was, at that time, the first

first President of the parliament, being sent for immediately to the Palais Royal, and the Queen having acquainted him with the circumstance of the imprisonment of the Princes, he exclaimed, with an accent and gesture both of grief and astonishment, "Ah! Madam, what have you done? They are the offspring of the royal blood!" insinuating thereby that this measure, which had been adopted merely to gratify a foreigner, and to support him in his post of prime minister, must, necessarily, be attended with fatal effects: a speech nearly similar to that made by Catherine de Medicis, to the king, her son, after the action at Blois.

The sequel verified the apprehensions of this eminent and sagacious magistrate. During this period, the parliament assembled almost daily. The princess Dowager of Condé distributed amongst the members printed copies of a petition, which she had laid before the parliament, for the releasement of her two sons and her son-in-law: for which purpose she repaired, at five o'clock in the morning, to the apartment of the officers attending that court, situated close to the doors of the grand chamber. Her Highness had been secretly conducted, on the night before, in the coach of M. de Garibal, one of the masters of requests, to the house of M. le Fevre de Laubriere, a member of the parliament, the Abbé de Roquette, afterwards bishop of Autun, officiating as coachman on the occasion. The Princess of Condé, the Duke d'Anguien, and the Dutches de Longueville had retired to Bourdeaux, which place was, in consequence, besieged by the King's army, and defended by the Duke de Bouillon, with those troops which were attached to the house of Condé, and which had repaired thither from different provinces. Amongst these troops, there were even some who had quitted the King's army, commanded by Marfin, in Catalonia, through the disgust which the whole province of Guyenne had conceived against the governor, the Duke d'Epemon. Marshal Turenne was at the head of an army, in Champagne, consisting partly of natives and partly of such Spanish troops as the King of Spain had furnished him with. A general assembly of the noblesse was held, at the great

convent of the Cordeliers, in Paris, in which it was determined to petition the King to convoke the three estates of the kingdom, and to grant the Princes their liberty : it was also resolved to solicit the concurrence of the clergy, who assembled at the same time in the great Augustine's convent.

After the Marshal du Plessis, who commanded the King's army, had defeated that of Marshal Turenne, near Rhetel, and had compelled him to raise the siege of Guise, the Duke of Beaufort and his friends judged it absolutely expedient, as a means of counter-balancing the too great addition of power which the court had acquired by these successes, to unite themselves with the party of the clergy and nobility. Finally, the assembly of the clergy deputed George d'Aubusson, archbishop of Ambrun, with remonstrances to the King and Queen ; in consequence of a letter addressed to them by the Princess of Conti, which was written on one of the signed blanks, which her Highness had entrusted with some of her friends at Paris, to be used as occasion should require.

The author of this relation received orders, about midnight, to fill up one of these blanks for the above purpose, which was, accordingly, done, and the letter was presented to the assembly on the next day.

As Cardinal Mazarin clearly perceived the necessity of granting the Princes their liberty, he now set every engine in motion to obtain a reconciliation with them : and he concluded that the most likely method to effect this design would be to make it appear, to them and the whole nation, that their enlargement was owing to his interposition with the King and Queen in their favour.

With this view, his eminency went in person to Havre, with the orders for the Princes release, where he arrived in the month of February 1651. Immediately upon his arrival, he sent a message to their Highnesses, requesting their permission to wait on them : but they nobly rejected his application ; accompanying their refusal with many expressions of contempt ; they being thoroughly satisfied that they were not at all indebted

debted to him for their deliverance from prison. The Cardinal was, therefore, obliged to deposit the orders he had brought with him in the hands of M. de Bar, to whom he had confided the care of the Princes, and to depart the kingdom in the same instant. He retired first to Dinan, and from thence, successively, to Bouillon and several other places, attended by a few of the nobility; amongst whom Francois-Bonaventure de Harlay, Marquis of Brenal, elder brother of Francois de Harly, who was archbishop, first of Rouen and afterwards, of Paris, enlisted himself with great disinterestedness. The above-mentioned prelate, was, also, sole perpetual president of the general assemblies of the clergy: a dignity which he had acquired by his address, in procuring all those cardinals and archbishops, who might have contested his pretensions thereto, to be excluded from the deputations of the various other provinces.

Another incident, which conduced to accelerate the releasement of the Princes, was their removal from the castle of Vincennes to that of Marcouffi, and from thence to the fort of Havre, situated in Normandy, of which province the Duke de Longueville, one of the three Princes, was governor, but the fort was commanded by the Duke de Richelieu, who was strongly attached to the Prince of Condé, to whom he was related: this circumstance, I say, awakened the general resentment of the public, who could no longer permit two Princes of the royal blood, and another who was entitled to succeed to the throne, to remain in the power of a foreigner, and of an Italian Cardinal, their avowed enemy.

This removal was occasioned by a suspicion which the Cardinal had conceived, that the friends of the Princes, whose party appeared to encrease daily in the city, might, possibly, attempt to release them, by force, from the castle of Vincennes, which is only a league and a half distant from Paris. The care of their removal he entrusted to the Count d'Harcourt, who undertook to conduct them to Havre, with a numerous escort, consisting of the body guards, the gens d'armes, the light horse and others of the King's household troops.

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The Count was universally blamed on this occasion; although it was known that, from the narrowness of his circumstances, he stood in great need of the favour of the court: but it was deemed highly derogatory to the honour of a prince of the house of Lorraine, who had acquired much reputation and glory, at the head of the King's armies, in Provence, Piedmont, Italy, and other parts, to take upon himself the office of a Provost Marshal: this was the title given him, in derision, by the Prince of Condé, when on the road from Marcouffi to Havre.

It was on the 16th of February 1651, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the Princes arrived at Paris; accompanied not only by their friends, but also by several persons belonging to the court, some of whom had gone as far as St. Dennis, and others still farther, to meet them. They went straight to the Palais Royal, the guard being under arms, and were conducted to an audience of the King and Queen, to whom they returned thanks for their enlargement.

Several of the first days after their arrival were spent in paying the most necessary visits, and in giving audience to those who flocked to them in crowds, to compliment them on their return. However, they did not appear openly in public till after the proper preparations were made for their going into mourning, for Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, princess Dowager of Condé, (the mother of the Princes of Condé and Conti, and mother-in-law of the Duke de Longueville) whose death happened towards the latter end of December 1650. Those who were employed for this purpose had caused the calot of the Prince of Condé to be nailed to his coach: judging that, as first Prince of the blood, he had a right to that mark of distinction; particularly as the title of Serene Highness had recently been granted to the Princes of the blood, to denote the difference of rank between them and such of the nobility as possessed, simply, that of Highness. But Madame d'Orleans, the Dutchess of Montpensier, having given the Prince to understand that none but the King's own children were entitled to this privilege, he immediately ordered the necessary alteration to be made in the coach.

The

The princess Dowager of Condé died at Châtillon-sur-Loire, the seat of her relation the Dutchess of Châtillon, and since of Meckelbourg, widow of the Duke of Châtillon, who was killed at the attack of Charenton, on the 25th of January 1649. Her Highness had retired thither from Angerville, where she had resided, in the house of M. Perraut, president of the chamber of accounts, and many years an intendant in the family of Condé, from the time that the court had prohibited her from appearing at Paris, in consequence of her having presented a petition to the parliament, on the subject of the imprisonment of her children, as already related.

As her Highness's death happened during the time of the general assembly of the clergy, it was found necessary to pay her all those funeral honours to which she was entitled, as the widow of a first prince of the blood, notwithstanding the distressed situation of herself and her family at her decease; being oppressed with affliction, and deprived of the attendance of all her children. The Princes of Condé and Conti, her sons, together with her son-in-law, the Duke de Longueville, were yet in confinement; her daughter-in-law, the Princess of Condé, with her only son, the Duke d'Anguien; as also her daughter, the Dutchess de Longueville, and her two children, the Counts de Dunois and S. Paul, had taken refuge at Bourdeaux and other distant places.

Isaac Hubert, bishop of Vabres, formerly a prebend in the church of Paris, was requested by the assembly, (to which he had been deputed by the province of Bourges) to pronounce the oration, at the funeral service which had been appointed to be performed in the church of the great Augustines. He justified their choice of him; and acquitted himself in the office, which the critical situation of public affairs had rendered extremely embarrassing, with great reputation, but, at the same time, with a freedom truly episcopal. Speaking of the great virtues of the deceased, he could not refrain from reminding his audience of the first disgraces and misfortunes with which it had pleased heaven to visit the house of Condé, meaning the long imprisonment,

prisonment, of upwards of three years, which her husband had undergone; he having remained in confinement from the 7th of September 1616, to the month of October 1619. It were unnecessary to repeat here all the particulars of the above funeral oration, or of the other solemn services which were performed, at different times: however, it will be proper to observe, that the frequency of these mournful solemnities strongly tended to encrease the scorn and hatred which the people had entertained, for upwards of three years past, to the person and name of Cardinal Mazarin, and which was now arisen to so great a height, that the Queen found herself obliged to make a shew of abandoning him, and to send him out of the kingdom. Another circumstance, which happened at this time, ought particularly to be mentioned. M. de Bar, who had the command of the troops, appointed to guard the Princes during their imprisonment in the castle of Vincennes, had stationed a number of centinels, (who, for the greater security, were cautiously restricted from all manner of intercourse with those who did duty in the other parts of the castle) in the court-yard adjoining to the apartment in which the Princes were confined, in order to prevent their receiving any intelligence, either by letter or otherwise. These men, however, taking pity on the unfortunate condition of the Princes, and judging that their disgraces could not be of long duration, being persuaded, moreover, that any services which they should render their Highnesses would be richly recompensed, yielded to certain proposals which some of the Princes agents had found means to communicate to them, and engaged to furnish their prisoners with all the necessary means of carrying on a regular correspondence with their friends. From this time, therefore, their Highnesses were minutely informed of every thing that passed, either in Guienne, Picardy, Flanders, at court, or elsewhere: and, the implements for writing having been conveyed to them by their guards, they were enabled also to communicate to their friends such instructions as they deemed requisite for their conduct. The Prince of Condé being on a visit to M. Chavigni, the governor of the castle of Vincennes, in the month of June 1652, went

went into the room in which he had been formerly confined, where, in a hole in the side of the chimney, he found the two pens which he had made use of during his imprisonment.

The letters which the Princes received were written in cypher, the duplicates of them contained much matter, with very few cyphers, but which bore an extensive interpretation. They perused and answered these letters during the night, being in bed and with the curtains drawn close round them; whilst their attendants imagined that they were employed in reading some books which they had; no one presuming to interrupt them during the time. One of the persons, who waited upon the Princes in their chamber, was entrusted to deliver the letters to them, and to receive their answers: and the mode of conveyance adopted was by enclosing them, at one time, in the false bottoms of wine bottles, which had been made for the purpose, and, at others, in crown pieces which were hollow within.

The princes, having thus obtained their liberty, sent Louis Henri de Gondrin, archbishop of Sens, De la Rochefoucault, bishop of Leytour, brother to the Duke of that name, and Francois Pericard, bishop of Angoulême, to return thanks in their name, to the assembly of the clergy, for its kind mediation with the King and Queen in their favour.

The King was not declared of age till the 6th of September 1651, at which ceremony the Prince of Conti attended, habited in a violet-coloured robe.

An union had been formed, between the Coadjutor's party and that of the Princes, subject to certain conditions, of which the principal was the marriage of the Prince of Conti, with one of the daughters of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, who was at the head of the first mentioned party. The Princes, on their part, made an outward shew of adhering to their engagements with the most scrupulous strictness. The Prince of Conti resigned the abby of Nicolesme to one of the sons of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and that of Corbini to Saint Roman, who went afterwards ambassador to Switzerland. He deposited the abbey of S. Dennis, together with some others, in the hands of de Montreuil, his secretary, and surrendered

up that of Clugny to the religious fraternity, by whom it had been conferred upon him, and who were desirous of having the Duke d'Anguien for their abbot. But, in order to render these resignations of no effect, the Prince, at the same time, revoked and annulled them, by other instruments, which were executed in all the due forms of law, and were kept totally secret to be made use of when occasion should offer.

It were needless to give a distinct detail of every subsequent transaction: let it suffice, that the Coadjutor, who was invariably attached to the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, being highly exasperated at the non-performance of the engagement relative to the marriage of the Dutchesse's eldest daughter, who died soon after the release of the Princes, quitted the party of the Prince of Condé and resumed his former connections with the court. At this period, he obtained from the King his nomination to the cardinalship, which grant appeared, some time afterwards, at the beginning of the year 1652, to have been rather wrested by force than acquired by solicitation; as the King secretly revoked the appointment, in favour of the bailly of Vanlency, his ambassador at the court of Rome. But the bailly reaped no benefit from his Majesty's good intentions towards him; as the Pope, who had been privately informed of this revocation, made a promotion of Cardinals in the first week in Lent, amongst whom the Coadjutor of Paris was included. This transaction was carried on so secretly, that the ambassador had not the least suspicion of it, till the whole business was finished: when, going to demand an audience of the Pope, in order to acquaint him, in form, with the King's having reversed the Coadjutor's appointment, he met his Holiness coming out of the Consistory, where he had just performed the ceremony of nominating the new Cardinals.

The Coadjutor's promotion to the cardinalship, in spite of the court, was not so much owing to the assiduity of his agent at Rome, the Abbé Charier, or to the officers of the Grand Duke and the other princes of his family, as to the resentment which the Pope entertained against Cardinal Mazarin, for having compelled him, (by marching the French army into Italy, and seizing
upon

upon Piombino, Orbitello, and Portolongone, on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state) to grant a hat to his brother, Michael Mazarini, a dominican friar, whom the Cardinal had taken from his convent, and had conferred on him the archbishopric of Aix.

This promotion of the Coadjutor proved as little satisfactory to the archbishop of Paris as to Cardinal Mazarin: the former ill brooking that his nephew should have been preferred before him: and Cardinal Mazarin considering Cardinal de Retz as being now in a condition to acquire even the post of prime minister, or, at least, a very considerable share in the administration of affairs. His partizans were very assiduous in their endeavours to procure him the favour and friendship of Cardinal Mazarin, and to remove the suspicions which the latter had conceived, of his designs to supplant him in his post. But Cardinal Mazarin constantly replied to all their applications, "I am very willing to be his friend," "but he seeks to obtain my post:" nor did he conjecture wrong; as Cardinal de Retz directed all his views to the attainment of that single point.

During the King's absence from Paris, that city declared for the Prince of Condé, to whose troops it opened its gates, on the 2d of July 1652, immediately after their defeat in the suburb of S. Antoine. Cardinal de Retz and his party openly opposed the Prince: and his eminency, resorting to the Luxembourg Palace, at late hours of the night, after the prince had retired from thence effectually detached the Duke of Orleans from his interest, and dissuaded him from executing any of those engagements and promises, which the Prince had, perhaps but an hour before, obtained from his Royal Highness. The Prince of Condé, therefore, found himself obliged, after the retreat of the army which the Duke of Lorraine had led into France, to the assistance of his brother-in-law, to quit Paris, and to retire to Villeneuve St. George with his troops; by which movement, those of the King, commanded by Marshal Turenne, were for some time, hemmed in, on one side by the Prince's army, and on the other by the Lorrainers; but they were afterwards released from this disagreeable situation, by the departure of the latter out of the kingdom, which

which was supposed to have been negotiated by Cardinal de Retz, in Champagne. The Prince afterwards besieged and took the city of Rocroy.

The city of Paris, being thus freed from all restraint, by the retreat of the Prince of Condé with his army, now sought every means to induce the court, which was then at Compeigne, to return, and to obtain from the King a general act of oblivion for all that was passed. Cardinal de Retz, accompanied by the deputies of the clergy, went to Compeigne, to entreat the King to return to his capital. The provost of the merchants and the sheriffs, attended by the deputies from the various districts of the city, went also, and were succeeded by all the companies, both of the merchants and the tradesmen: which latter deputations, although they gave great satisfaction to the court, proved highly disagreeable to Cardinal de Retz, who had taken upon himself the whole care of the negociation for the King's return. As a proof of the truth of this assertion, the Cardinal, in one of his subsequent letters, reproaches the court with the great services, which the Queen had publicly acknowledged, that he had rendered to the King on that occasion; her Majesty having declared, that the King's return to Paris had been brought about by Cardinal de Retz alone.

The desire which the Queen constantly expressed to retain Cardinal Mazarin and Mess. Servien, le Tellier, and Fouquet, in their several employments about the King's person, all of whom were very apprehensive of Cardinal de Retz's enterprising disposition, determined his Majesty to give orders for seizing the Cardinal when he should come in the evening to the *Palais Royal*. He had preached on the first Sunday in Advent, in the cathedral of Paris, and, when he had finished his discourse, a paper was found in the pulpit, containing the following words: "You shall preach, Cardinal, in spite of every one; but if you preach the coming of the Lord, it is not that of the Lord Jules." This refers to Cardinal Mazarin, whose name was Jules.

On the evening on which Cardinal de Retz was taken into custody, he came alone to the *Palais Royal* (whither he had frequently resorted, in disguise) and was conducted from thence to the castle of Vincennes: this

event

event happened in the month of December 1652. M. Joli, who had given him previous intimation of the design which had been formed against him in the council, excused himself from accompanying him upon the occasion, telling him that, if he was determined thus to rush upon his ruin, he might act as he pleased, but that for his part, he would not involve himself in that fate which must inevitably attend such great imprudence. To this resolution M. Joli was induced by a persuasion that the court had not forgotten his conduct in the year 1648, when the proprietors of the fund of the hotel de Ville appointed him one of their syndics, nor the sincere attachment which himself and his family had always manifested to the Cardinal, several of whom were afterwards exiled, in consequence of the Cardinal's escape from the castle of Nantes, in 1654, and of the subsequent transactions in the church and diocese of Paris.

The customary guard of the castle was now considerably augmented by a number of men, which were draughted from the first company of the King's bodyguards, commanded by the Marquis de Noailles, who was the only person amongst the many to whom it was offered, that could be prevailed on to accept of the post, in prejudice of the Marquis de Chardenier, whom he succeeded in it, and to whom he never re-imbursed the money which it had originally cost him : Cardinal Mazarin, to whom he was much attached, having abetted him in this act of injustice towards a gentleman of the noble house of Rochefoucault, and nephew to the Cardinal of that name.

Claude du Flos, * who possessed an estate called Davanton, in Poitou, and was one of the grand exempts of the above-mentioned company of the guards, took every imaginable precaution, to prevent any communication between Cardinal de Retz and his friends. This precaution was carried so far, that the soldiers, who were stationed about the apartment in which his eminency was confined,

* The reader is desired to observe that, throughout the remaining part of the work, this person will be mentioned by the name of Davanton only, in conformity to a custom, which is common in France, of entitling persons by the names of their estates.

confined, were never suffered to quit their post, not even for the purpose of going to mass, which was frequently performed by the Cardinal himself, and, sometimes, by one of the canons of the chapel of Vincennes, to which his eminency, after his escape from prison, presented the chalice, the candlesticks, and all the other vessels, &c. which he had caused to be made, for the celebration of that solemnity. This vigilance, however, did not produce the desired effect, as the Cardinal received constant information of every thing which passed, in which he was concerned. It has never appeared whether his eminency was most indebted to the avarice or compassion of some of his guards for this indulgence. As the death of his uncle was an event which would naturally produce a considerable alteration in his affairs; with respect to the great increase of power he would thereby acquire in the diocese of Paris, where it was imagined that the clergy, both secular and regular, and the people would highly resent the injury done to the church and religion, by the imprisonment of him whom God had given them for their pastor—for these reasons, his friends took proper care to inform him of certain signals which they proposed to make, in order to announce to him that event whenever it should happen. One of these signals was to be made by ringing certain bells, in the steeple of the church of *Notre-Dame*, in an unusual manner; and another by causing the clock, in the chapel of the castle of St. Vincennes, to strike the same hour twice successively. It has also been reported, that the priest who performed mass before him contrived to give him intimation of the above event, by raising his voice higher than ordinary, when he repeated the canon of the mass, and naming him by the title of, *Johannes Franciscus Paulus, Antistes noster*; the name of Paul distinguishing him from his uncle.

John Francis de Gondy, uncle of Cardinal de Retz, and the first archbishop of Paris, died during the night of the 21st of March 1654. Very early in the morning of the next day, a person named Peter le Beure, being previously furnished with the proper powers from the Cardinal, repaired to the cathedral of Paris, and took possession of the see in his eminency's name and authority; .

after

after which he was installed in the archiepiscopal chair, with all the customary solemnities, and a *Te-Deum* was sung, accompanied by the chimes of the cathedral. This ceremony was performed in the presence of the deans, canons, and the other orders of clergy of the diocese, who were assembled on the occasion. The instruments by which le Beure was impowered to take possession, were registered in due form, in the registry of the diocese; as were also those by which the Cardinal had constituted and appointed Messrs. l'Avocat and Chevalier his vicars-general, and M. Porcher, a doctor of the Sorbonne, president of the archiepiscopal court.

All the above instruments had been carried to the castle of Vincennes by Roger, the notary to the holy see, who found means to introduce himself into the Cardinal's apartment, in the disguise of a tapestry-maker's servant, carrying several pieces of tapestry. By this stratagem, he gave the Cardinal an opportunity of signing the writings he had brought with him, after which he retired, without being once suspected by his eminency's guards. This transaction is recorded in a manuscript book, in the cathedral of Paris, which contains, amongst others articles, a list of all those canons who had been promoted to the episcopal dignity and to the cardinalship. The author speaks of Cardinal de Retz in the following terms.

From this time, he was recognized as archbishop of Paris, not only throughout his own diocese, but also by all the clergy of the kingdom. The priests mentioned his name in the public service of the church, and recommended him, under the above title, to the prayers of the people, in their sermons: both the clergy and people acknowledged the authority of his vicars general, who publicly and peaceably exercised their functions, without any interruption from the court; being solely restrained from making any new regulations, without first communicating them to the council. Although the court thus, both openly and privately, admitted the Cardinal's claim, and the authority of those persons to whom he had delegated his power, yet it was determined not to suffer him to keep possession of the see; and, as it was judged that the people would highly
resent

resent a further continuance of his imprisonment, every engine was set in motion, to induce him to resign his pretensions; on which terms, it was proposed to grant him his liberty, so soon as the Pope should have ratified his resignation, and should have appointed his successor. With this view, the Nuncio Bagny was ordered to visit the Cardinal, at Vincennes, under pretence of having received instructions to wait on him from the Pope, but, in fact, to sound him on the subject of the proposed resignation, to which he appeared to be greatly disinclined. At the different times at which the Nuncio waited on his eminency, he always found him in company with the Count de Brienne and M. le Tellier, one of the secretaries of state, who came to him with proposals from the court. For some time the Cardinal remained inflexible: but, at length, being wearied out by the rigours of an imprisonment of sixteen months duration, and hoping that, by a compliance, he should obtain a mitigation of his sufferings, he yielded to the proposals which had been made to him, and formally renounced his claim to the archbishopric, in the presence of two secretaries of state, the Count de Noailles, who commanded the King's body-guards, and the President de Bellievre. The last mentioned person was greatly surprized, on entering the castle, to learn from Davanton that his eminency had declared his willingness to resign the see, and that he (Davanton) had been witness to certain reciprocal engagements which had been entered into on the occasion; the particulars of which the Cardinal studiously avoided revealing, in a letter which he wrote expressly on the subject, after his escape from the castle of Nantes. Thus the public remained totally ignorant of the nature both of the above-mentioned engagements, and also of those stipulations which his eminency made, for himself and his friends, at the time when he resigned his pretensions in form. The silence of the court on this occasion arose from a conviction that the resignation which had been thus obtained from the Cardinal was altogether invalid, and that the Pope would never ratify it, through an apprehension lest other secular Princes should, from thence, conceive
a notion

a notion that they were authorized to divest a bishop of his see at their pleasure.

The only consequence which resulted to the Cardinal from this resignation was a change in the place of his imprisonment, having been conducted by Davanton from Vincennes to the castle of Nantes, and delivered into the custody of the Marshal de la Meilleraye. The court had promised that upon his removal thither, he should be waited on by his own servants, and that his relations and friends should be permitted to visit him; but, in spite of these promises, he now found himself as closely confined as before.

In this place, several circumstances occur which are necessary to be observed.

The first is, that the vicars-general of Cardinal de Retz, who had entered on the execution of their office on the 21st of March 1654, (the day on which the archbishop of Paris, his uncle, died) still continued to act under his authority, notwithstanding the renunciation which the court had obtained from him, at the castle of Vincennes, seeing that he yet retained his title and dignity, of which he could not be divested till the Pope should have confirmed his resignation, and should have appointed his successor.

The second article is, that the orders given to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, for augmenting the garrison of the castle, and for the close confinement of the Cardinal, were occasioned by the court's having received certain intelligence that his Holiness, far from being inclined to accept of the Cardinal's resignation, under such circumstances, had rejected it, with many expressions of rage and resentment, as being highly injurious to the church and the sacred college.

The third circumstance to be noted is, that the Cardinal, in all those letters which he wrote at Rome, after his escape from the castle of Nantes, has constantly denied the charge brought against him by the court, of having promised the Marshal de la Meilleraye, that he would not attempt to procure his liberty by any irregular means.

The last article which requires to be observed is, that, during the whole time of the Cardinal's imprisonment, both

both at Vincennes and at Nantes, comprizing a period of near twenty months, the court had never laid any crime to his charge, and that no judicial process had been instituted against him till after his escape from the castle of Nantes ; which enterprize was executed in the following manner.

The Abbé Rousseau, a man of great strength and vigour, having procured cords for the purpose, let his eminency down, at noon-day, from the terrace of the castle, into a ditch which runs at the bottom of the wall, near the river ; during which time the centinels who guarded his eminency were engaged in drinking a bottle of wine, which had been designedly given them by one of the Cardinal's servants. The more effectually to deceive the centinels, Rousseau spread the Cardinal's outer garment, together with his red cap, on a bench which his eminency made use of in performing his devotions, that, seeing his garments at a distance, they might be led to imagine, that he was then at prayers, as his valets had told them also, in order to prevent their approaching the spot.

One of the Marshal de la Meilleraye's pages, who was bathing at that instant in the river, perceiving a person coming down, by a cord, into the ditch, left the water with all haste, crying out, " Cardinal de Retz is at-tempting to make his escape !" but the sailors and others, who were on the shore, paid no attention to what he said, being fully employed in assisting a friar who was very near drowning.

His eminency was drawn out of the ditch by some persons whom the Duke de Brissac had hired for the purpose, and was immediately mounted on horseback. But he had scarcely gone two hundred paces before, in turning the corner of one of the streets of the suburb, his horse falling, he was thrown off, and dislocated his shoulder. The persons who escorted him found it very difficult to persuade him to suffer himself to be remounted, although the Marshal de la Meilleraye's guards were then in sight.

All the necessary dispositions had been made for conducting him to Paris, where it was proposed that he should take possession of the archiepiscopal palace, or, in

in case that should not be judged a secure asylum, that he should secrete himself in the steeple of the cathedral.

But the above accident totally disconcerted all the measures which his friends had taken, and obliged himself and his attendants to fly for refuge to a place near Beaupreau, belonging to the Duke of Brissac, brother-in-law of the Duke de Retz, the Cardinal's brother.

Cardinal de Retz thus made his escape from the castle of Nantes on the 8th of August 1654, at which time the court and Cardinal Mazarin were employed in raising the siege of Arras, on the frontiers of Picardy, which was then invested by the Prince of Condé. His Highness was compelled to retire from before the place on the feast of St. Louis, which event would not have happened had Cardinal de Retz fortunately repaired to Paris, immediately after quitting the castle of Nantes, as, in that case, Cardinal Mazarin would inevitably have been obliged to abandon Arras, in order to oppose the enterprizes of his greatest enemy, who had a whole people entirely at his devotion.

On the same day that Cardinal de Retz quitted the castle of Nantes, he wrote letters to the chapter of the cathedral, and to the curates of the city of Paris, acquainting them with his restoration to liberty.

LETTER I.

To the Chapter of the Church of Paris.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING been hitherto debarred from manifesting my sense of the obligations which you have conferred on me, I eagerly seize this earliest opportunity to express my gratitude to you. And, as I had the happiness of being educated amongst you, to which circumstance I am ultimately indebted for my present dignity of archbishop of your city, which you, braving, for my sake, every danger and difficulty, have so generously laboured to preserve to me, I will, therefore, live and die in the possession of that title; hoping that, as your affection for me encreases, my gratitude and thankfulness may keep

keep pace with it. Believe me sincere in my professions, and grant me that place in your friendship and your prayers which is so earnestly desired by,

GENTLEMEN,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) The Cardinal de RETZ.

Dated, from the environs of Beaupreau, 8th of August 1654, and superscribed, to the dean, canons and chapter of the cathedral of Paris.

LETTER II.

To the Curates of Paris.

GENTLEMEN,

AS soon as I had reached a place of safety, and found myself at liberty to express the sentiments of my mind, respecting the great regard which you have universally manifested for me, I immediately determined to make you my due acknowledgments, and to assure you that I will continue, for the rest of my days, inseparably attached to a clergy, who will ever be as dear to me as I have experienced them generous. My removal [from Vincennes to Nantes] was the work of your firmness, and my liberty of your prayers. I return you my best thanks for all your favours; and, hoping that you will continue your kind offices, I remain,

GENTLEMEN,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) The Cardinal de RETZ, Archbishop of Paris.

Dated, - from the environs of Beaupreau, 8th of August 1654, and superscribed, to the curates of Paris.

Cardinal de Retz wrote, at the same time, to the King, who was then at Peronne, whither he dispatched a person on purpose, to present the letter to his Majesty.
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But his enemies, as he complains in his letter to the archbishops and bishops of France, dated 14th of December 1654, ever studious to debar him of the means of vindicating himself to the King, from the unjust aspersions which they had cast on him, sent back the gentleman without any other answer, than that no letter could be received from him, till he had first returned to the place from whence he had escaped. This was as much as to say, that the only method to obtain a reconciliation with the court would be to return to that state of bondage and slavery from which he had so lately released himself, and that, when he should be closely confined in either of the prisons of Nantes or Brest, he might have free leave to write to the King whenever he should think proper. What induced the Cardinal and his friends to attempt his releasement was some certain intelligence which they had received, that the court, finding that the Pope would not accept of a resignation thus obtained from a prelate under strict confinement, and in direct violation of the promises which had been made, in the presence of the President de Bellièvre, had given orders for removing his eminency either to Brest or to Brouage. When the news of his flight from Nantes reached Peronne, the court was thrown into great consternation, and it was determined, seeing that every attempt to deprive him of his title and dignity had proved ineffectual, to dispossess him of all authority in the government of his diocese. The clergy and people, in general, manifested the most sincere joy upon receiving intelligence of his escape from prison, and the chapter of the cathedral of Paris, and the curates, performed solemn services of thanksgiving to God for the deliverance of their archbishop: and it was this circumstance which chiefly induced the court to adopt the above rash measure, by which all the privileges of the church were violated, heedless of the consequences of the people's resentment, or of that opposition, in which it might naturally have been supposed that the bishops would unite, for the defence of their common rights, and the preservation of their authority, titles, and dignities.

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The chancellor Seguier and Messrs. Servien and Fouquet, the two comptrollers of the finances, who had taken upon themselves the care of watching the conduct of the clergy, during the absence of the court, held a private conference at the Louvre, where it was determined, by the advice of M. Servien, to which the other two were obliged to conform, that Messrs. l'Avocat and Chevalier, the grand vicars of Cardinal de Retz, as also some others of the canons and curates, who had manifested the most zeal in the cause of their archbishop, should be ordered to repair, immediately, to Peronne, to give an account of their conduct to the King. This step alarmed the other curates, their brethren, to such a degree, that they dared not communicate to their congregations the Cardinal's letter to them, of the 8th of August.

At the breaking up of the above conference, orders were given to the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, to fill up eight blanks, which had been sent him, ready signed, from Peronne, with the names contained in a list then delivered to him, and to send them the next morning, by an exempt, to the proper parties. In a few days afterwards, viz. on the 22d of the same month of August, four pieces, which, tho' dated from Peronne, had been fabricated at Paris, by M. Servien, were published, some of them by the King's heralds, and were afterwards stuck up in the public places, on the gates of the churches, and at the corners of the principal streets.

The first was an edict from the King, dated the 29th of August 1654, which contained, exclusive of the former orders on the subject, which had been given to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, fresh instructions to all governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces, governors of cities and towns, mayors and sheriffs, gentlemen, lords of castles, and to all others within whose districts or jurisdiction Cardinal de Retz should be found at large, to seize his person, and to convey him to some place of security, or to cause him to be so seized and secured, till, having given advice of his detention to the King, his Majesty should otherwise order;
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under the penalty, to all those who should know the place of his retreat, and should not reveal it, or should neglect any opportunity which might offer for seizing his person, or should refuse to assist, to the utmost of their power, in seizing and securing him, of being punished as rebels, and disturbers of the public tranquillity. The King most strictly prohibited all his officers and subjects, of whatsoever rank, dignity, or profession they might be, from harbouring, or, in anywise, assisting or relieving him; and expressly enjoined them to hold no kind of correspondence with him, either directly or indirectly, to receive no letters, messages, or commissions from him, nor to execute any such; upon pain of being deprived, in case of disobedience to the above orders, of all posts, employments, and benefices which they might possess at the time, and of being incapacitated from serving his Majesty, in any station, in future.

The second and third were two letters from the King, dated from Peronne, the 22d of the same month. One of these letters was addressed to the Marquis de l'Hopital, the governor of Paris, and the other to the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs; requiring them to carry into execution, his Majesty's edict of the 20th also of the same month of August, and to take the proper steps for securing the person of Cardinal de Retz, should he be so rash as to venture to come to the city.

The fourth was an edict of the council, issued at Peronne, on the same day, the 22d of August, by which the see of Paris was declared vacant, and the dean, canons, and chapter were enjoined to assemble, and to proceed to the nomination of the grand vicars, who should be empowered to conduct the affairs of the diocese during the vacancy: this edict was notified to the parties to whom it was addressed, by two of the ushers of the chain, with a strict injunction to yield obedience to it.

As it has been impossible to obtain authentic copies of the foregoing edicts, and of the instrument of their notification to the chapter, as also of the proceedings of that assembly, in consequence, no regular account can

can be given of those matters, nor of the events which happened, from the time of his escape from the castle of Nantes, to that in which he himself acquainted the public with his arrival at Rome. All the information, therefore, which can be acquired on this subject must be collected from what his eminency has thought proper to communicate, both to his brethren, the archbishops and bishops of France, and, also, to the chapter of his cathedral, in those letters which were written at Rome, before the death of Pope Innocent the Xth, and after the election of his successor, Alexander the VIIth, and were dated on the 24th of December and 22d of April 1655. The only consequences, worthy observation, which attended the chapter's compliance with the edict of the 22d of August, was that the court, as a reward of their obedience, conferred on their dean, M. de Contes, the office of a counsellor of the state, and that those who acknowledged the legality of the vacation of the see, who had obtained dispensations, appointments, and licences to administer confession, and who had been ordained by the bishops of Dol, and Coutance, the titular vicars-general of the chapter, were all advised to apply to Rome, to be confirmed in the possession of their respective offices, and to obtain absolution; that all the other bishops of France refused to confer orders on those who had furnished themselves with certificates from these new vicars-general; that those who remained attached to the rules of the church, constantly sent to Cardinal de Retz, who was at Rome, even during the time of the conclave, for all such assistance as they required in the execution of their functions, which they received from the Abbé Lamet, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was a relation of the Cardinal and one of his conclavists; and that the Nuncio Bagni, to whom it had been intimated that it was sufficient that a bishop was not approved of by the court, to be divested of his see, refused to make use of the oil which Claude Auvory, bishop of Coutance, had consecrated, in the cathedral of Paris, at the request of the vicars-general of the chapter, saying that, *istud Oleum non erat sacrum*.*

Cardinal

* That oil was not holy.

Cardinal de Retz, in his letter to the archbishops and bishops, dated the 24th of December 1654, assured his brethren, that the greatest consolation which he received during his imprisonment was to hear, that they had joined their solicitations with the demands of the Pope, for his releasement from a miserable bondage; that they had declared his imprisonment to be destructive of the liberties of the Gallican church, and that, having seen, with regret, all their remonstrances ineffectual, they had, at least, sympathized with him in his misfortune. He then proceeded to represent to them :

1. That, although it seemed that no greater injury could be offered to the church, than that of imprisoning a Cardinal and an archbishop, contrary to all forms of law, both ecclesiastical and civil, he never could have imagined that those, who, for the space of twenty months that he had been under confinement, had never dared to blacken his reputation, and could lay no other crimes to his charge, than that he was Archbishop of Paris, and that he possessed a dignity of which they were desirous of divesting him, would thus, immediately after it had pleased God to grant him his liberty, have defamed him in the most base and unexampled manner, and which was totally subversive of that respect which all the faithful, and even princes themselves ought to pay to the living representatives of Jesus Christ, and the ambassadors of the King of Kings.

2. That he had naturally expected, that those, who sought to dispossess him of his archbishopric, would ill brook his being in a situation to preserve that dignity, in despite of all their attempts: but he had hoped that, with whatever virulence they might pursue their designs against him, they would still have retained some reverence for the grandeur and sanctity of the episcopal function, and that he should not have had the grief of seeing the priesthood of Jesus Christ thus ignominiously dishonoured in a most christian kingdom: all the people submitted to his jurisdiction having seen, with equal concern and astonishment, that the deliverance of their prelate, which, but a short time before, had been the subject of their public rejoicings, was now become the

basis of a cruel proscription of his person, the most outrageous calumnies against his honour, and a scandalous profanation of his sacred dignity.

3. That he could scarcely be induced to believe, till he had received ocular proof of the fact, that an archbishop had been treated, in the very city of his diocese, and after being driven from his see, like a banditti, and a captain of a gang of robbers; and that proclamations had been stuck up in all the public places, and at the corners of all the streets, which not only dishonoured him, by the abuse and calumny which they contained, but also exposed him to every kind of outrage, by barbarous and unprecedented decrees against the life of a prince of the church.

He complained that, without any form of process, and without even the shadow of an accusation, his enemies had, from the first, adopted a mode of proceeding as unjust as it was inhuman, by arming all the governors of places, mayors and sheriffs of cities, gentlemen, and lords of castles against a bishop, whose sole crime was that, exercising that privilege which he derived from the laws of nature and the gospel, he had released himself from an illegal imprisonment, which the whole church had for so long a time lamented; that he had been treated as a public enemy, who endeavoured to kindle a war in the kingdom, although he was solely occupied with the design of retiring from it, in order to preserve himself from those violences to which his further stay would, inevitably, have exposed him; that every part of the kingdom had been shut against him, save the prisons and dungeons; that those, who should render him any charitable office in his misfortunes, or should even restrain themselves within the bounds of a christian-like respect for the church, their mother, had been threatened with the most rigorous punishments, and which were due only to the harbourers and accomplices of robbers; that violent hands had been laid on one of the anointed of the Lord, for the purpose of sacrificing him to the vengeance of his enemies, and, finally, that this sacrilege called for the most exemplary punishment.

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He represented to them that, in the aforementioned proclamations, it was set forth, that he deserved to meet with no mercy, for having ungratefully rejected the favours which it had been intended to confer on him: that is to say, that he did not receive with sufficient thankfulness that new kind of favour, by which he was to be first dispossessed of the archbishopric of Paris, and afterwards doomed to end his days in the prison of Brest.

He observed that, in this same edict, of the 20th of August 1654, it was seen; that he had, by himself and his friends, given the King the strongest assurances of his determination to continue firm in that obedience and fidelity, which every subject owes to his sovereign: but that this promise, to which he would adhere whilst he lived, after the example of his family, which had ever been as distinguishable for their loyalty and attachment to their King, as any one in France, was suddenly become, in consequence of his escape from confinement, the ground-work of the most inhuman persecution ever heard of in similar circumstances. As if that no one could be faithful to the King who was not in prison; that every one who enjoyed his liberty must be a rebel, and that all the promises which had been obtained from his friends tended only to assure the King that he would dutifully submit to continue in prison, without making any attempt to procure his liberty.

I am therefore, continues he, to be exposed to the fury of the people, because, according to the doctrine of my enemies, I have been guilty of a scandalous deceit, although I have only availed myself of that inherent right, which every man under oppression has, to extricate himself, by all the means in his power, having violated no one promise whatsoever. Here he appealed to the first President Bellievre, as being witness to certain promises, which his enemies had made him, at the time of his removal from Vincennes to Nantes. He also referred to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who, having been so often entrusted with the care of prisoners, must have been well acquainted with the laws of imprisonment, and who would not have guarded him so closely, at the castle of Nantes, had he considered him in the

light of a prisoner upon his parole, from which, even if it had been so, such a conduct would effectually have disengaged him. He further observed, that the only promise he had made was, that he would not attempt to escape on the rout from Vincennes to Nantes, although he might easily have effected it, and that the Marshal had told a person of great quality, that he was not inclined to oppose the King's authority, and that he should be obliged to comply with the orders which had been issued, for removing the Cardinal to Brest, or to Brouage, although he had before given the most positive assurances to the contrary.

The Cardinal complains, in this same letter, that, having voluntarily offered to retire from Paris, in order to remove; by his absence, the fears and apprehensions which had been conceived, respecting him, and that having laboured so effectually, even to the endangering his life, to dispose the people of Paris to a favourable reception of their sovereign, he had reaped no other fruit from his services, than the loss of his liberty; that, even during his imprisonment, his enemies had not scrupled to charge him with offences against the state, alledging that he still continued his former intrigues, and that he had renewed his correspondence with the invaders, and with the Prince of Condé, but without once troubling themselves to produce any proof against him; that they had also accused him of having exerted his endeavours, from the first day of his liberty, both by letters and by his emissaries, to procure illegal assemblies of the nobility, and to excite the people of the different provinces to a revolt, although all things continued in the same peaceable state, as before his deliverance. He adds that, not being able to render him culpable of such evils as had not yet happened, they pretended to be apprehensive of those which they alledged would arise, from his being permitted any longer to exercise his function of Archbishop of Paris, although he had quietly executed the duties of the office, by his grand vicars, during the time of his imprisonment, to the very day on which he left the castle of Nantes.

He exposes the gross artifice which had been made use of, to induce a belief that the King could not remain

main in safety in his capital, if he, whom God had appointed to the archbishopric, of which he could not be divested by the secular power, but by the authority of the church alone, should continue to exercise his function, even by proxy, as he had done, for the space of six months, by his grand vicars, during which time not the least disturbance whatever had arisen in Paris. From hence, he said, it was very apparent, that the sole crime which had drawn upon him this virulent and unexampled persecution from his enemies was, that he was no longer their prisoner, and that they could not now confine him in the castle of Breil.

He next complained that the dignity of a Cardinal and an Archbishop had been subjected to an infamous persecution; that his archiepiscopal palace, although a sacred dwelling, as forming a part of the cathedral, had been profaned by a guard of soldiers, and that he had been deprived of the revenues of his archbishopric, under a pretext that he had forfeited his title, by omitting to take the customary oath of fidelity to the king, than which nothing could be more unjust, as that omission was occasioned by the close imprisonment under which he at that time languished. To these complaints he added, that his domestics had been doomed, without any form of law, to a rigorous exile; that a violent persecution had been raised against all those, who were even suspected of being his friends, some of whom had been banished, and others imprisoned; that the houses and lands of his relations had been given up to the discretion of the soldiers, and that his enemies had, inhumanly, extended their hatred against him even to the person of him from whom he derived his being, (Philip-Emmanuel de Gondy, Count de Joigny, Knight of the King's orders, General of the galleys, afterwards appointed Priest of the Oratory) regardless of his great age, of the services which he had rendered the kingdom, in quality of General of the Galleys, and of the retired life which he led, having had no other share in the disgraces of his son, than what arose from his tenderness, as a father, and his charity, as a priest, in recommending him to God in his prayers: they having first doomed him to a perpetual banishment from
Paris,

Paris, and afterwards exiled him to the distance of an hundred leagues from his own estate, to a mountainous country, covered with eternal snow, whither he was escorted by a guard of soldiers.

He represented to them the attack which had been made on their common privileges; that the sheep had taken upon themselves to sit in judgment upon the pastors of the flock; that a few seculars had assumed the power of deposing an Archbishop, and, of declaring his see vacant, by an edict of the council, of the 22d of August 1654, thereby encroaching on the power of the Pontiff of the Lord, and laying their hands to the arch, not to support, but to destroy it; that all this had been done under the pretence of a resignation, which the King, 'twas true, had accepted, but which was, in itself, null and void, having been extorted from him during an imprisonment, of sixteen months, in the castle of Vincennes, from whence it was dated: against which he had, from the first, protested, by formally refusing, in the presence of the Nuncio Bagni, and two secretaries of state, who had been sent by the court to sound him on the subject, to grant the resignation in question; which, when at length obtained from him, his enemies, being conscious of its invalidity, had never dared to produce, and which the Pope, considering it as being destructive of the rights of the church, and as having being wrested from him by violence, had rejected and revoked. He further observed, that neither this resignation, nor his omitting to take the oath of fidelity had been deemed sufficient grounds for declaring his see vacant, as his grand vicars had been still permitted, as before, to govern the diocese in his name; that both the priests and people had continued to pray for him, in the public service of the church, in quality of their Archbishop, seeing that the King had recognized his claim to that title, in an edict, which was addressed to his grand vicars, commanding them to make no new regulation without first communicating it to his Majesty: thereby acknowledging that they were empowered so to do, by their office. Hence he argued that, as his claim to the title and dignity of Archbishop of Paris had been recognized, (even after he had signed the aforementioned

mentioned resignation, and notwithstanding he had not taken the oath of fidelity) to the very day of his deliverance from confinement, it was plain that his escape from the castle of Nantes, was the sole circumstance on which his enemies founded their pretended right to dispossess him of his see, as it was not till after that event that a new kind of council, composed of Marshals of France, and ministers of state, who had been substituted in the room of the Pope and the bishops of the kingdom, had assembled at Peronne, on the 22d of August, and declared his see vacant.

He then pointed out the great difference between the canons of that council and those of the church: the latter ordaining that, whenever it shall have pleased God to break asunder the bonds of a bishop under confinement, he shall immediately re-assume the exercise of his authority over his diocese; whereas those of the council of Peronne directed, that a bishop, who, during his confinement, had governed his church, through the intervention of his grand vicars, should instantly lose that right, upon his restoration to liberty: his church thus becoming captive from the moment in which he should acquire his freedom, from having been free during the whole term of his captivity.

He added that it was, possibly, in this same council that a canon had been made, which, during his imprisonment, had been quoted to the Nuncio Bagni, in justification of the measures lately adopted, according to which the court was empowered to remove a bishop from his see at its pleasure; that, in order to establish these laws, an attempt was, at first, made to intimidate such of the nobility, and other persons of rank, as were in his interest, but, it having been found that threats had no effect upon them, they, together with some of the canons and curates of the church of Paris, were ordered to repair to court, in order to justify their conduct; that advantage had been taken of the absence of these persons, to communicate to the chapter of the church of Paris the above-mentioned edict, declaring his see vacant, and enjoining them to proceed, within the course of a week, to the election of vicars-general, who should be empowered to conduct the affairs of the diocese.

diocese under the sole authority of the chapter; that neither the absence of five of the most zealous members of that body, the menaces which had been used to some, the promises which had been made to others, nor the fear of losing their privileges, with which the chapter had been threatened, could prevent their still persisting to recognize him for their Archbishop, and refusing to acknowledge his see to be vacant, they having resolved to petition the King, to permit his return, and that of his grand vicars, whose absence they did not deem sufficient grounds to justify their intermeddling in the government of the diocese.

Cardinal de Retz further expressed to them, in this letter, on the one hand, the grief which he had felt, on hearing that the chapter, yielding at length to force, and unable to bear up against the impending storm, had taken upon themselves to nominate grand vicars, to govern his diocese, which, but a very short time before, they had declared was not vacant; and, on the other, his satisfaction, in learning that this nomination had been resolved on by a majority of four voices only, and was, consequently, rendered invalid, by the suffrages of those who were illegally withheld from attending on the occasion. He represented to them the bad consequences which would inevitably arise from this attack on his jurisdiction, whereby all the laws of the church were so openly violated, and, also, from the measures then carrying on, by which it was apparently intended to reduce the clergy and bishops to the condition merely of vicars to the council of state, removeable at the pleasure of a favourite.

He concluded his letter with conjuring his brethren to reflect on the state of the church of Paris, and on the banishment of his grand vicars, and of several other canons and curates, who had been exiled to different provinces, and remote cities, purposely that their fate might strike a terror into the rest: which design had proved so successful, as to deter them from reading, in their assembly, the letter which he had addressed to them. He added, that he expected from them, not tears and sighs alone, but a vigorous exertion of all their efforts, in support of the interests of the church; telling them, that God
would

would not be satisfied with a mute and inactive zeal, from those whom he had ordained his chief ministers on earth; recalling to their remembrance what St. Martin formerly said to an emperor, and Constantine to the bishops of his time, as also what steps had been taken by the assembly [of the clergy] in 1645, * in favour of the bishop of Leon, who had been oppressed by a minister, and divested of his see, by a sentence which was, apparently, conformable to the laws of the church, but which, in fact, was grounded solely on a false accusation of high-treason.

Finally, he acquainted them with his arrival, after surmounting various obstacles, at the residence of the Prince of the Apostles: the sure asylum of all bishops under persecution; that, by embarking in a small fishing vessel, navigated by five hands only, he had deprived his persecutors of every pretext, for accusing him of corresponding with the enemies of the state, and that the rout which he afterwards took, sufficiently justified his passing through the territories of Spain, and fully evinced the falsehood of what had been asserted, in one of the proclamations issued against him, that he had been at Madrid to make a tender of the surrendry of Belle-Isle, and that he had conferred with certain persons, whom he never saw in his life. He informed them of the flattering marks of friendship and affection, with which the Pope and the Cardinals had honoured him, having recognized his claim to the title and dignity of Archbishop of Paris, and having, also, conferred upon him the pallium, in that quality: assuring them that he trusted that he should continue in peace in the midst of the tempest, addressing himself to God in those words of David: *In umbra alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat iniquitas.*

The conduct of the chapter of Paris, in nominating their dean, M. de Contes, and some of the other members of their body, to take upon themselves the government of the diocese, in quality of their vicars-general, during the time, not of a real, but of what Peter de Marca, the

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Archbishop

* The original says, 'in 1655:' but this is, evidently, an error, as this letter was dated in 1654. *Vide*, also, page 118, of this volume.

Archbishop of Thoulouse, then, and subsequently stiled a quasi vacancy: this conduct, I say, caused a schism in the church of Paris as scandalous; as it was publicly avowed and supported by the court: the most pious and learned persons, and those who were the most deeply versed in the laws of the church having refused to acknowledge the authority of these vicars-general of the chapter. The above-mentioned Peter de Marca was the most inveterate, and, on account of his abilities, the most dangerous of all Cardinal de Retz's enemies: as will be fully seen in the sequel.

The scandal caused by this schism, which desolated the church of Paris, was considerably encreased by the measures adopted by the illegally-appointed vicars-general of the chapter, who, without even the least plea of necessity, and in direct violation of all the canons of the church, and all the regulations of the clergy, had introduced two bishops from other dioceses, Dennis-Anthony Cochon, bishop of Dole, and Claud Auvry, bishop of Coutances, to ordain priests in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, and to consecrate the oils in the cathedral of Paris. This innovation was, from the first, and has since been so universally condemned, both by the legal grand vicars of Cardinal de Retz, and also by the whole body of the bishops, assembled in convocation; that, on the one hand, those who had been ordained by the two bishops above-mentioned were, in consequence, obliged to provide themselves with absolutions from the court of Rome; and, on the other, that in the year 1655 none of the clergy of the diocese came, as had been always customary, to Paris, to receive the consecrated oils, (they having either made a reserve of what they had received in the former year, or else having supplied themselves from the neighbouring dioceses) and that the Nuncio Bagni refused to make use of those oils, alledging that they had been unlawfully consecrated, as already mentioned.

After the publication of the above long and famous letter, from Cardinal de Retz to the archbishops and bishops of France, nothing further appeared, either from him or from the court, for some time. This was occasioned by his being engaged in attending the conclave, which

which was then sitting, and which was opened on the 7th of January 1655, and did not break up till the 7th of April following, when Cardinal Fabio Chigi was elected Pope, and assumed the title of Alexander the seventh.

But a courier, whose name was Marquin, who had been dispatched to M. de Lyonne, returned to Paris, on the 15th of April, in the morning (which was the fifteenth day from the time of his setting out for Rome) with the news of the Pope's election. M. de Lyonne was at this time entrusted with the chief management of the King's concerns at the court of Rome, in quality of envoy extraordinary to the Princes of Italy, under which title, at his own particular request, all those letters were addressed to him which he received from the Count de Brienne, the secretary of state for foreign affairs. Immediately upon the courier's arrival at Paris, he received instructions to repair to Vincennes, where the court then was; (the author of these memoirs delivered to him an order on the treasury for two thousand livres, in consideration of his late journey) and; it being apprehended that the newly-elected Pope might pursue the same steps as had been adopted by his predecessor, in favour of Cardinal de Retz, in whose person he pretended that the church and the sacred college were equally injured, a fresh edict against his eminency was published, on the 13th of May 1655; and was stuck up in different parts of the city of Paris, being dated, at Vincennes, on the 16th of the preceding month, which was the day after the arrival of the courier. By this edict, the King declared that, having already made the court of Rome acquainted with the bad conduct of that Cardinal, and being well informed of the correspondence and intrigues which he still continued to carry on with the avowed enemies of his crown, his Majesty had, till such time as a regular process could be instituted against him, given the necessary orders, to prevent the effects of his pernicious designs. But, as some persons, feigning to be ignorant of the Cardinal's evil intentions, and of the crimes laid to his charge, the whole of which it was impossible to come at the knowledge of at that time, might still continue their connection with him, and suffer themselves to be
blinded.

blinded by his artifices, his Majesty thereby prohibited all his subjects in general, of whatever quality or condition they might be, whether ecclesiastics or others, under any manner of pretext, to hold the least commerce or correspondence with him, by letter or otherwise: and commanded all such persons, as might, at that time, be in his retinue, to quit him, and to return to France, immediately upon becoming acquainted with the particulars of this edict. The whole upon pain of being proceeded against, as rebels, partaking in his crimes, and disturbers of the public tranquillity. And, in order to compel such of the subjects of France as were then at Rome, and were attached to the interests of Cardinal de Retz, to quit that city, M. de Lyonne had brought with him a considerable number of blanks, signed by the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, (the author of these memoirs tacked them to the instructions which had been given to M. de L. before his departure) to be filled up, and made use of conformably to the directions which he had received, on that head, from the court.

Some time after the publication of this edict, a letter appeared from Cardinal de Retz, dated at Rome 22d of May, and addressed to the dean, canons, and chapter of his church, of which a number of printed copies were distributed, whereby the public was made acquainted with the following particulars:

1. That the parties whom he addressed had manifested their esteem and affection for him, by the obliging answer which they had returned to his letter, of the 8th of August 1654, and by the public thanksgivings which they had offered up to God, for his deliverance.

2. That he assured them, that amongst all the difficulties and dangers which he had since encountered, nothing had given him so sensible a concern, as the intelligence which he had received, of the measures which had been adopted against them, with the view of detaching them from his interests, and of compelling them to abandon him, by issuing forced and involuntary decrees, whose just rights and authority they had supported with so much zeal and constancy: that the happy termination of his voyages and difficulties could not obliterate the remembrance of the methods which had been used to force them

them to submission ; and that neither the favourable reception which he had met with from Innocent the Xth, the marks of kindness and affection with which that Pope had been pleased to honour his integrity, in his state of exile, nor the apostolic protection which his Holiness had promised him, with so much tenderness and generosity, could totally dispel the anxiety which he had felt, for six months past, for the deplorable condition to which that company was reduced.

3. That he had learned, with great concern, that those, who, since his restoration to liberty, had imputed to them, as a crime, their zeal for his interests, had even proceeded so far as to accuse them, in a public and defamatory proclamation, of having been the promoters of certain transactions, in the capital of the kingdom, which were of a scandalous nature, and injurious to his Majesty's authority, and which accusation was founded, solely, on the circumstance of their having manifested, by one of the canticles of the church, their joy and gratitude to God, for his deliverance, which they had often made the subject of their prayers ; and that he had further been informed, that, by the above conduct, they had irritated their enemies to so great a degree, that they from thence, had taken occasion to treat them as rebels and disturbers of the public peace : having made this the pretext for ordering his grand vicars, and some others of their company, to repair to court, pretendedly for the purpose of compelling them to give an account of their conduct : but, in fact, with the view of exposing them to a variety of outrages, insults and mockeries, and of intimidating them, if possible, by their menaces.

4. That what had principally affected him was the intelligence which he had received, that this persecution against his grand vicars, and some others of their brethren, had proved a prelude only, to a more important attack, which was afterwards made on the whole company : the intent of banishing those persons having been, thereby, to render the chapter less capable of opposing the designs which were in agitation, and, also, to take the opportunity, of the absence of those members, to communicate to that company an edict, dated on the 22d of August

August 1654, by which certain secular persons usurping the authority of the church, had declared his see vacant, and enjoined the chapter, in consequence of this pretended vacancy, to elect within the course of a week, other grand vicars, who should be empowered to govern the diocese, in the room of those whom he had appointed; threatening that, in case of their refusal, such nomination should be made without their intervention.

5. That this edict had been delivered to the chapter by two officers of justice, who at the same time acquainted the assembly, that they had received express orders to require from them an implicit obedience thereto: and, as the first impressions of fear and consternation are ever the most powerful, these officers insisted that the assembly should proceed to an immediate deliberation; declaring their resolution not to quit the place till this was complied with.

6. That he (Cardinal de Retz) had, in this letter resumed the arguments which the public had already seen, in that of the 24th of December 1654, addressed to the archbishops and bishops of France, respecting the different cases, in which a chapter may assume the government of a diocese, in the absence of the bishop of the see; who, although residing in distant parts, unless he chance to be detained a prisoner among the infidels, may still continue to exercise his authority over his diocese, by his grand vicars; and that this was exemplified in the case of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who, having withdrawn himself, to avoid exciting the fury of the infidels against his flock, appointed grand vicars, to govern his church, in his name; as also in the instances of Cardinal de Richelieu, at that time bishop of Lucon, and M. de Sourdis, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who, having both retired to Avignon, continued, nevertheless, to govern their respective dioceses, partly in their own names, by the mandates which they issued from time to time, and partly by their grand vicars.

7. That he had also been much grieved to learn that there had been found two bishops so regardless of the honour of their characters, and so devoted to the violent intentions

intentions of his enemies, as to have undertaken to confer the sacred orders of priesthood in his church, or rather to profane them, by an unprecedented encroachment on his rights: it being one of the fundamental principles of ecclesiastical polity, that every bishop has an exclusive authority to communicate the sacerdotal function of Jesus Christ to those committed to his care, and that any prelate, illegally assuming this power in the diocese of another, thereby renders himself liable to be deprived of his office and dignity, by violating the sacred union of episcopacy, established by the ordinances of all the ancient councils, which that of Trent had renewed and confirmed.

Finally; That having reason to believe that those grand vicars, appointed by him, were still at Paris, whither the King had recalled them, to exercise their functions, under his (the Cardinal's) authority, he had sent them the bull, for the jubilee which the Pope had granted, in consequence of his exaltation to the pontificate, requiring them to cause it to be published in the usual form: and, in case that they should not have returned to the city at the time, that he had given orders for its being delivered to Messrs. Chassebras and de Hondene, doctors of the Sorbonne, and senior curates of the Magdeleine and St Severin, to be disposed of conformably to his directions, and according to the custom of the diocese, in the absence of Messrs. l'Avocat and Chevalier, his grand vicars.

The senior curate of St. Severin having received an order from the King, to repair immediately to court, M. de Chassebras, to whom a similar order had been sent, judged that he neither ought nor could pay obedience to it, without betraying the interests of Cardinal de Retz, by whom he had been employed to put a stop to the late encroachments of the chapter upon his jurisdiction. Having therefore previously committed the care and management of his parish, of the Magdeleine, to M. Barré, a doctor of the Sorbonne, (afterwards dean of the church of Orleans, as also grand vicar and official to Cardinal Coassin, bishop of that diocese) he withdrew himself, and, in order to provide for the safety of his person, in the exercise of his functions of
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grand vicar, he fixed on the steeple of the church of St. John en Greve for the place of his retreat, as a secret and secure asylum from all the attempts of the court, during his absence from his parish and his customary residence. As he still continued to govern the diocese, (causing the various certificates and other instruments, for which application was made to him from time to time, to be laid on the altar of the church of the Magdeleine, whilst those who had occasion to apply to him in such cases, took the same method to acquaint him with their want-) the court pursued, with the utmost rigour, a criminal prosecution which had been instituted against him in the Chatelet, where, after he had been publicly cited, on three several days, before the gate of his own church, to make his appearance, it was adjudged that the forfeitures and penalties of contumacy were duly incurred, in consequence of which he was declared a rebel, and his benefices vacant and impetrable. During this time he had repeated interviews with those persons who corresponded with Cardinal de Retz, and with such of his friends as remained concealed in Paris, for which purpose he frequently left his hiding-place, clad in a secular habit, and in other disguises.

Cardinal de Retz, besides the afore-mentioned letter, of the 22d of May 1655, wherein he acquaints the chapter with his having appointed the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin to be his grand vicars, published another, dated on the 28th of June following, and addressed to the dean, canons, and chapter of his cathedral, and to all the curates and ecclesiastics, and to the faithful, in general, under his jurisdiction: informing them that, in order to avoid exposing his diocese to those evils, into which it might be precipitated through the want of legal government, he had nominated the senior curates of those two churches, to take upon themselves the management of affairs under his authority, and to exercise the same powers as had been possessed by his other grand vicars, whose absence rendered them incapable of executing the duties of their functions. He further represented to them, that they were bound to pay no obedience, in future, to any other spiritual authority, than his, which alone was legal and approved
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by God and the church ; that those who should seek, elsewhere than under his guidance, and that of the persons commissioned by him, the grace which saveth, would find, instead thereof, their condemnation ; that those who should, similarly, enter upon the holy office of the priesthood would enthrall themselves and become abominable in the sight of God, instead of acquiring the power of delivering and sanctifying others ; and that those, to whom they might pretend to communicate the authority to absolve sinners from their offences, would not, in anywise, become invested with that privilege, and would fatally deceive all such persons as should put themselves under their conduct ; that neither the grants of licences of marriage, nor the administration of religious vows would be valid, or conformable to the canons ; finally, that any one, unauthorized by him, who should attempt to intermeddle in the government of his diocese would be guilty of a horrible sacrilege, and a detestable innovation : but that he hoped that no such evils would arise, and trusted that, after thus publicly protesting against an encroachment upon his authority, which was condemned by the holy Roman church, by the councils, by all the free universities, by all those who had the love of God in their hearts, and by him, (to whom, alone, the government of the church of Paris was committed,) he should find the chapter of the metropolis of his diocese, whose zeal for the church he had already experienced, readily disposed, by their example, to oblige the rest to recognize his jurisdiction, in the persons of the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, his grand vicars ; and that his flock, being thus made acquainted with the intentions of their only legal pastor, would be strictly on their guard against submitting themselves, in future, to the guidance of any other shepherd, whereby they would fatally endanger that spiritual welfare which he earnestly wished might be granted them.

This piece was followed by another, from M. de Chassebras, dated on the 28th of July 1655, and was stuck up on the gates of the churches. It was addressed to the curates, fraternities, religious houses, monasteries, and to all the regular priests of the diocese ; acquainting them

them that, as Cardinal de Retz had been pleased to entrust the management of the affairs of the diocese to his care, during the absence of his grand vicars, he considered himself as being obligated to accept of the charge, and not, like a mercenary pastor, to abandon the flock, lest he should incur the censure which the church had denounced against all such ecclesiastics, and others, who should desert their bishop, under pretence of any accusation against him, until he should be duly convicted by the sentence of the law ; and that, as Jesus Christ had warned him to fear him, rather, who killed the soul, than those who could hurt the body, he should, therefore, be apprehensive of rendering himself culpable of a horrible indiscretion, in the sight of God, should he relinquish the government of the diocese, which would, in consequence, exhibit a scene of the utmost disorder and confusion. He added that, for these reasons, not deeming himself guilty of any breach, either of the respect due to the magistrates, or of the perfect obedience which he owed to the King, by causing the orders, issued by Cardinal de Retz, for the government of his diocese, to be carried into execution; he had thought it requisite to acquaint them with his eminency's will, as it was expressed in his mandate. Both these mandates, printed on the same sheet of paper, were stuck up on the gates of the different churches, both in the city and suburbs of Paris, on the morning of the 15th of August, being the feast of the Assumption. This time had been particularly fixed on for the purpose, the people being then assembled in the churches, to perform their devotions, and in the streets, to see the solemn procession, which is annually made on that day, and at which the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and the city-corporation, always attend.

The absence of the senior curate of St. Severin, who was engaged in attending the court, whither he had received orders to repair, and who had been prohibited, by the Chancellor Seguier, in the King's name, from executing any of the functions of his office, of grand vicar of the diocese of Paris ; the retreat of M. de Chafsebras to a secret, but secure asylum, and the strict and rigorous

rigorous search which was made after him; all these circumstances, I say, caused the diocese to be, in a manner, abandoned by those to whom the government of it had been entrusted: seeing that M. de Chassebras could not, without discovering himself, hold any communication with the curates, who, moreover, were not permitted to publish the mandates, which he found it necessary to address to them, from time to time, in order that those persons, who were subjected to the jurisdiction of Cardinal de Retz, might be made acquainted with their contents. He had, therefore, no other means left of communicating to them the intentions of their pastor, than by procuring all the requisite orders and instructions to the curates, and to the superiors of the different communities, both secular and regular, to be fixed up, during the night, on the gates of the churches and in the streets, instead of sending them, as he would have done at another time, directly to the parties to whom they were addressed.

At this time, certain trusty persons were employed, who went about the streets during the night, with printed papers at their backs, covered with paste, which they fixed up against the gates of the churches, the corners of the streets, and in the public squares, by placing themselves with their backs against the different edifices; which being effected, they retired behind the churches and houses, for a short time; none of those who chanced to pass by during the interval being able to form any judgment of what business they were about.

Thus, nothing was now to be seen, but acts, ordinances and mandates, printed and fixed up in the most public parts of the city, and which were, by these means, notified to those, to whom they ought to have been openly sent, and communicated in the customary manner.

The first act which was published in this manner, (although it had, before, been communicated, by Philip Marcourt, a priest of the diocese of Meaux, to Dominic Segurier, bishop of that diocese, as senior bishop of the province of Paris, and a canon of the cathedral of that city) was that, by which M. de Chassebras (who had received intelligence that that prelate had engaged to convoke

convoke an assembly of the clergy of the province of Paris, by a different authority than that of Cardinal de Retz, and that it was intended, after first going through a mock form of appearing at the archiepiscopal palace, to proceed to the election of the deputies of the province, to be sent to the general assembly of the clergy of France) conjured, in the first place, all the bishops of the province to unite in their endeavours, to obtain the King's promise for the safety of his person, in order that he might be enabled to attend the provincial assembly, and to occupy that seat therein, to which he was entitled both by order and custom; or, in case they should deem it more proper to wait, till the general assembly of all the three [dioceses of Chartres, Meaux, and Orleans] should meet, to attend thereat, and to solicit the concurrence of that body in the above application to his Majesty. He then protested, beforehand, both against every resolution which should be taken in the provincial assembly, should it be convoked, and, also, against all the proceedings of the general assembly of the clergy of France, at which the deputies from the pretended convocation of the three dioceses, of Chartres, Meaux, and Orleans should attend.

The second was an ordinance of Cardinal de Retz, dated the 25th of August 1655, and addressed to M. de Chassebras, his grand vicar; enjoining him, in his name, to inform Anthony-Dennis Cochon, bishop of Dole, and Claude Auvry, bishop of Coutance, as also all those under his jurisdiction, that they had incurred the penalties denounced by the sacred canons against those who confer the order of priesthood in any district out of their jurisdiction, and that he, therefore, prohibited them from executing any kind of ecclesiastical function in his diocese, even those of celebrating mass, and performing divine service.

The third and fourth, printed on the same sheet, were notices from M. de Chassebras to the two above-mentioned bishops, acquainting them that they had subjected themselves to the penalties specified in the canons of the church, viz. the bishop of Coutance, in having consecrated the oils, and the bishop of Dole, in having conferred holy orders in the cathedral of Paris, without

without the consent, either of the archbishop of that see, or his grand vicars: and that, by the express orders of that prelate, he, thereby, forbade them the exercise of every kind of ecclesiastical duty in his diocese, not excepting, even, the celebration of the mass, and the performance of divine service; enjoining the senior priest, neither suspended nor excommunicated, to notify to them this declaration, as also the act by which he gave information thereof to the dean, canons, and chapter of the cathedral of Paris, and likewise to the curates and to the several communities, both secular and regular, as well of the city as of the diocese, to whom he sent copies of all the above pieces.

The fifth, which was dated on the 8th of September 1655, contained M. de Chassebras's first admonitory letter, addressed to all the faithful of the diocese, acquainting them:

1. That he had flattered himself, that the respect and deference which, as soon as he was invested with the government of the diocese, he had manifested for the King, in the person of the Chancellor, and the assurances which he had given him [the Chancellor] that he would not take any step, in the execution of his office, which should be repugnant to his loyalty, as a subject, or prejudicial to the King's service, would have been sufficient to have proved the purity of his intentions at the entering on the ecclesiastical function, and that he had no other view, than that of employing himself in watching over the welfare of the souls committed to his care, and in dispelling the anxiety and scruples which, with too much reason, had arisen in the minds of many, on occasion of the usurpation of a sacred power, and which was totally incommunicable but by legal authority.

2. That, for this purpose, as soon as the senior curate of St. Severin, a doctor of the Sorbonne, his colleague in the vicarship, had received the King's orders to repair to court, he, recalling to mind the measures which had been carried into execution against the former grand vicars, who were driven from the diocese and banished, after they had yielded obedience to a similar order,

order, determined, from a motive of respect to the King, to withdraw himself from his parochial abode, in order to avoid receiving a like injunction with that which had been sent to the curate of St. Severin, and also, that both of them might not be obliged to abandon, at the same time, the care of one of the first churches in the world, the charge of which had been entrusted to them by God himself, and which they even could not desert, without offending against their own consciences, and betraying the interests of Jesus Christ: seeing, moreover, that it was sufficient, in order to testify that deference to the King, which all obedient subjects are bound to pay to his orders, in every case where such orders are not incompatible with those of God, that one of them only should repair to court, to learn what it was that his Majesty required of them.

3. That this submission had served only to shew, that those, who, by surprize, had obtained these orders from the King, had determined to overthrow the whole system of episcopacy, and to annihilate the vicars-general spiritual jurisdiction, which they derived from divine authority, and on which whoever should make any encroachment, would be guilty of waging war with God himself; that all the attempts of his colleague in the office of vicar-general, to procure admission to the King, in order to acquaint him with the true state of the church of Paris, and to lay before him their just complaints of the oppression which had been of late exercised over it, had proved ineffectual, he having been detained, for near two months, in one of the cities on the frontiers, for which no other reason was alledged, than that it had been determined not to permit him to execute the duties of his charge, nor to obey the orders of his archbishop, in a function merely spiritual; that three or four infamous libels had been published, by the same persons, which merited only the contempt and abhorrence of every man of probity, learning and piety, as being injurious to the episcopal dignity, disgraceful to the church, and replete, not only with calumnies against the honour and innocence of a Cardinal and an Archbishop,

Archbishop, but, also, with various heretical and schismatical maxims, militating against the authority of the successors of the apostles; and that the sacrilegious hands of lay judges had been employed, with a violence beyond example, in tearing out of the ecclesiastical registers the commission which had been granted to the grand vicars of the church of Paris, by the Cardinal, archbishop of that see: as if, by this means, they could have rooted out of the heart of the church that indispensable obligation, of obedience to the archbishop and his grand vicars, and could have restrained and degraded the latter from the exercise of their functions.

4. That all the curates had been prohibited from receiving, or obeying any order from Cardinal de Retz, as if it had been a crime in a bishop to make such spiritual regulations, as he should judge necessary for the good government of his diocese, of which the Pope and the whole church had recognized him for the sole and lawful pastor; that the mandates, which he had caused to be affixed in the different parts of the city, had been torn down, with a violence before unheard of; that they (the curates) had been subjected to the indignity of having their houses searched, and their papers ransacked, without any regard to the consideration that, from the nature of their office, they might have some which must be very unfit for public inspection, as relating to cases of conscience; and that, to compleat the injurious treatment which they had received, the vicars of their several parishes had been examined and interrogated, for the purpose of procuring evidence against them.

5. That, although even calumny itself had not dared to charge him with any act, in the exercise of his function, by which the King's service could, in the smallest degree, be prejudiced, or which tended to cast the least imputation on his conduct, yet, nevertheless, orders had been issued for his personal appearance, and for committing him to close custody, and that, by a proceeding which would scarcely have been credited, had not thousands been witnesses of it, the decrees
against

against him had been proclaimed by sound of trumpet, not only in the public streets of the city, but, also, even before the gates of the Magdaine church, where he was accustomed to preach the word of God, and to administer the mysterious sacrament of the eucharist, as if he had been a malefactor, pursued by the hue and cry of justice, and who was deemed deserving of being proceeded against in so ignominious a manner.

6. That, in submitting any longer to these injuries, his patience would degenerate into cowardice, and his silence would become a horrible prevarication, and that he should render himself unworthy of the ministry with which he had been invested, if he neglected to defend the honour of the church, of episcopacy, of his function, and his own reputation, by those methods which were pointed out to him by Jesus Christ.

7. That, although he should have been justified in availing himself from the first, of those means which the councils, the canons, and the usages of the church have specified, as remedies against all similar violences, yet, in order to manifest, even to a degree beyond what could have been expected from him, after being thus injuriously treated, his strict obedience to that precept of the gospel, by which he was enjoined charitably to bear with sinners, until they should become incorrigible; he therefore exhorted those, who, under the sacred name of his Majesty, had excited so unjust and so violent a persecution against the church and his person, to make such a public reparation of their enormous crime, as might render them fit objects of the mercy of heaven, and the intercession of the church: acquainting them that, if, disregarding this his first letter of admonition, they should still persist in oppressing the church, in violating its authority, and in persecuting its ministers, he should have recourse to those methods which were prescribed by the church and the canons, in all similar cases.

The sixth was a second admonitory letter, from M. de Chassebras, dated in the month of October 1655, and addressed, as the former had been, to the faithful

ful of the diocese of Paris; by which, after complaining that his patience and moderation had served only to irritate still more those who persecuted the church, to continue their outrages, even to the causing his former paternal and charitable admonition to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, he once more exhorted them, together with their accomplices, before he delivered them over to the power of Satan, to desist from those persecutions which they excited, in the name of the King, (who was too just and pious to give any countenance to such disorders) against Cardinal de Retz, archbishop of Paris, against the episcopal order, and against his person. This letter was stuck up, according to the orders contained therein, on the doors of the cathedral of Paris, and on the different gates, both of the city and suburbs.

At the commencement of the year 1655, and previous to the appearance of the letter from Cardinal de Retz, dated at Rome the 24th of December 1654, and addressed to the archbishops and bishops of France, M. de Guenegaud, one of the secretaries of state, had delivered to the abbots de Mormielle and de Villars, the agents general of the clergy, to be by them sent to the several prelates of the kingdom, the King's edict, relative to the intended convocation of a general assembly of the clergy. By this edict, his Majesty granted them permission to hold their separate assemblies, each in his particular diocese, and the provincial meetings in each province, for the purpose of nominating two deputies from each of the orders of the clergy, to attend at the general assembly, which, as usual, was appointed to be convened in the city of Paris, on the 25th of May 1655.

But, immediately on the publication of the above-mentioned letter, the court became apprehensive that the general assembly might, thereby, be induced to undertake the defence of the episcopal function, and to prohibit any chapter from assuming the government of a diocese, in any case similar to that, in which the chapter of Paris had taken upon itself that authority. For this reason, every engine was set in motion, to

procure such deputies to be chosen, as were in the interests of the court, in order, if possible, to render ineffectual the zeal and spirited opposition of those, who had declared themselves in favour of the church and of episcopacy, and to prevent any resolutions being taken in the assembly which might thwart the designs, then in hand, of totally divesting Cardinal de Retz of his title and authority as archbishop of Paris. The Marshal de la Meilleraye, who commanded, in quality of lieutenant-general, in the province of Brittany, having forced himself into the assembly of the clergy of the diocese of Nantes, positively enjoined the President M. de Normand, (the grand vicar of Gabriel de Beauveau, bishop of Nantes, and official of the diocese) to chuse the person whom he should name to him, to go as deputy to the provincial assembly, which was to meet at Tours.

The appointment of the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, to whom Cardinal de Retz had given authority to regulate the affairs of his diocese, in the absence of his grand vicars, who had been exiled by the court; the publication of the Cardinal's letter, to the chapter of the church of Paris, dated the 22d of May 1655; the zeal and resolution manifested by M. de Chassebras, (the senior curate of the Magdeleine) at his entrance upon the execution of his office, and subsequently, by the spirited ordinances which appeared in his name;—all these circumstances, I say, conspired to oblige the court to put off the meeting of the general assembly of the clergy, first, from the 25th of May to the 25th of August, and afterwards, from the 25th of August to the 25th of October, and to dispatch fresh notices to the agents general, to be communicated by them to the archbishops and bishops, and to all those who had been already nominated as deputies to the aforesaid assembly.

The court had not yet been able to dive into the intentions of the newly-elected Pope, nor to discover whether he was disposed to follow the example of his predecessor, (who had so openly testified, both during the imprisonment of Cardinal de Retz, and after his arrival

arrival at Rome, his resentment of the injury which the church and the sacred collège had sustained, in the person of a Cardinal and an Archbishop,) and whether he might not be inclined to engage the bishops of France, assembled in convocation, to unite with him in demanding and obtaining a reparation of the outrage. However, it was hoped that Servien might be able to avail himself of some connections, which had subsisted between him and the Pope, during the time that the latter resided, in quality of Nuncio, at Cologne, and also at Munster, whither he had been sent to attend the congress which was held at that place, for the purpose of negotiating a peace: but in this the court was deceived, as the see of Rome was highly offended that the above peace had been concluded, without the participation of the Nuncio Chighi, and that, in the treaty, no mention had been made of the Pope's mediation, but solely of that of the republic of Venice: This peace the Pope declared to be an infamous peace, (*pacem pudendam*) in the treaty of which his Nuncio would never have suffered his name to have been inserted, both on account of the number of archbishops and bishops who were, thereby, secularized, and, also, as the emperor and the empire had yielded up to the protestant princes the privilege of nominating, alternately with the catholics, the bishops of the several sees of Magdebourg, Verden, Minden, and Osnaburgh.

The difficulty of convoking the assembly of the province of Paris, for the purpose of electing deputies, without whom no business could be entered on, by the general assembly, in the above province, but what would be liable to be protested against, was another principal reason for the court's thus prohibiting the meeting of that assembly.

The bishops of Chartres and Orleans were not at all inclined to acknowledge the authority of the grand vicars appointed by the chapter of the church of Paris. That assembly had declared, at the time of nominating them, that it was in consequence of the absence of those who had been appointed by their Archbishop, that they had

taken upon themselves the government of his diocese : but, that pretext having been removed, by the new commission granted by that prelate to the senior curates of the Magdeleine and St. Severin, they (the chapter) had relinquished all claim to the further exercise of that authority ever since the month of April. A contest had even arisen, between the bishops of Meaux and Chartres, for the right of presiding in the provincial assembly. The bishop of Meaux claimed it as his due, as being the senior, respecting the time of his consecration, citing, in support of his pretensions, the decision of pope Gregory XIII. in a similar dispute which had happened in the assembly of the clergy of the province of Rouen, in 1581, in favour of the bishop of Seez, against the bishop of Bayeux, the dean of the bishops of that province. The bishop of Chartres, on the other hand, quoted the bull by which the bishopric of Paris was converted into an archbishopric, and also by which the bishops of Chartres were confirmed in their title of deans of the province of Sens, and their right of taking place of all the other bishops of the province. But this contest was, at length, adjusted, at an interview between the two prelates, at Gromveil, near Chartres, a country seat belonging to M. de Ligny, the son of a sister of the chancellor Seguier, and of the bishop of Meaux.

The affair of Cardinal de Retz's imprisonment having excited a great commotion, not only in the diocese and province of Paris, but also amongst the clergy in general, the court used every precaution to prevent, or, at least, to shelter themselves from the effects of those measures, which they must naturally have expected would, in consequence, be adopted, particularly in the diocese of Paris. The court judged it very requisite that the King should be present in Paris, at the time of the meeting of the general assembly, in order, on the one hand, with the greater certainty, to secure the suffrages of the deputies, and to prevent the assembly from taking any resolutions, which might endanger, or prove contrary to what Cardinal Mazarin represented to the King to be his Majesty's and the state's real interests ; and, on the other,

other, to render more difficult the communication of Cardinal de Retz with the assembly, and the access of his agents to the deputies, and also to defeat the intentions, which his friends and the most zealous and pious amongst the bishops might entertain of vindicating the honour of their function and the rights of episcopacy, which had been attacked and violated in the person of Cardinal de Retz. But the King, being at that time upon the frontiers, could not return to Paris till the campaign in Flanders should be finished.

For this reason, the secretaries of state were ordered to write letters to all the archbishops and bishops of the provinces in their respective departments, pointing out to them those persons whom the court was desirous should be sent as deputies to the general assembly: and, without mentioning what passed, in consequence, in the other provinces, it will be sufficient to observe, that the archbishop of Sens was required to cause the bishop of Nevers (a prelate of small estimation and merit) and the Abbé de Harlay Cely, born at Constantinople, (where the Baron or Count de Cely had resided, in quality of ambassador from the court of France, several years) to be chosen deputies of the province: permitting him, as a special favour, to chuse whatever person should be most agreeable to him, from the second order of the clergy, to compleat the deputation from that see. With this requisition the archbishop complied, being induced thereto both by the refusal of the bishop of Troyes to accept of the office of one of the deputies, and, also, by the assurances which the Abbé de Cely had given him, of his firm resolution to adhere strictly to his duty, and to support, to the utmost of his power, the interests of the church. The Abbé de Cely was, moreover, indebted to the house of de Retz, (of which he rented certain lands at Joigni) for the preservation of the Cely estate in his family; and was, also, the godson of Roger, Duke de Bellegarde, the uncle, by the mother's side, of the archbishop of Sens. The above circumstances were communicated to the author of these memoirs by Pere de Gondy, preacher of the oratory, and father of Cardinal de Retz, to whom he had paid a visit, in the month of July 1657, after the dissolution

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of the general assembly of the clergy, in the city of Joigni, whither he had, at length, been permitted by the court to retire. But the grant of a coadjutorship to the bishop of Nevers, for his nephew, who was consecrated under the title of bishop of Tripoly, (but which dignity he never came to the possession of, not having survived his uncle) and the promise of the bishopric of Lodeve to the Abbé de Cely, (which promise was performed after the breaking up of the assembly) served to render the good intentions of the archbishop of Sens of very little effect. But his resolution and firmness induced many of his brethren, and a still greater number of the second order of the clergy, to follow his example.

The Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state, acquainted the chapter of Rheims, that it was the King's pleasure that their grand vicars, to whom the care of the diocese was committed, during the vacancy of the see, should convoke the assembly of the province in the city of Senlis. This was done to procure, with greater facility, such persons to be nominated as deputies as the court desired, and to prevent the bishops of Châlons and Boulogne, the former of whom was a friend of Cardinal de Retz, from being appointed to that office. The chapter was therefore obliged to send a deputation to the King, to request that his Majesty would permit them the free exercise of that power, which the chapter of every metropolitan church is entitled to, during the vacancy of the see, to fix on the place of meeting of their provincial assemblies. After these deputies had had a conference with the Count de Brienne, to whom they had been referred by the King, leave was granted to the chapter, to hold their provincial assembly in the hall of the archiepiscopal palace, in the city of Rheims.

Things were in this state when, on Monday the 25th of October 1655, all the prelates and other deputies of the clergy having previously repaired to Paris, the general assembly was opened, with all the forms customarily used on such occasions.

END OF CLAUDE JOLI'S MEMOIRS.

M E M O I R S

OF THE

DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.

CONTAINING

The most material incidents which happened in
FRANCE, during the War of PARIS, to the time of
CARDINAL DE RETZ's imprisonment, in 1652.

WITH THE

CHARACTERS of the several PERSONS belonging
to the COURT.

IN THREE PARTS.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

MOST of those persons who have written memoirs have been induced to undertake the task by a desire, either of apologizing to the world for some particular part of their conduct in life, or of making known to posterity the share which they had in the extraordinary and important transactions which they relate. Neither of these motives influenced the illustrious author of the following narrative. Her sole view was to paint the truth, without permitting any regard, either to her interests or to her glory, to have the least share in the portraits with which she presents us.

The rectitude of her intentions, the innocence of her manners, and the noble simplicity of her conduct, which had ever set her above the attacks of slander, rendered every apology totally needless: whilst her fondness for peace, and an undisturbed life constantly prevented her from meddling with any affairs, save those in which she was, absolutely, engaged by the duties of her station. Descended from one of the most illustrious families of the kingdom, and placed in the most elevated rank, she demeaned herself therein with a modest dignity; equally a foe to frivolous disquiet as to vain ostentation; and, contented with possessing great talents, she never sought to raise her reputation by exhibiting them to the world. Thus, in

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the midst of those tumults and disorders, by which France was so violently agitated, and whilst almost every person in the kingdom, of the highest rank and of each sex, sided with one or other of the different parties and cabals, she was enabled, with consummate prudence, to avoid the dangerous torrent. But she had the misfortune to see that fatal torrent hurry away, in spite of all her endeavours to prevent it, a man of illustrious birth, with whom she was connected by the closest ties of consanguinity.

She, a thousand times, reiterated her attempts, to detach that illustrious man from a party, which, in the end, proved so fatal to him. But, all her endeavours proving ineffectual, she, with great judgment, united in her conduct the different duties of the daughter and the subject; and, whilst, on the one hand, she preserved all those sentiments of respect and attachment which she owed to her father, on the other, she never lost sight of that zeal and fidelity which was due to her King, for whom she naturally entertained a profound reverence, which daily encreased, from her observation of the shining qualities of that wise monarch.

At length, she had the pleasure to see the author of her birth finally recede from those unhappy factions, which excited so many troubles in the kingdom; and, from that time, she beheld all that passed with much greater composure than before; not but that, animated by a strong affection for her native country, she still continued to lament the misfortunes in which it was involved, and, influenced by that charity, which so eminently distinguished the subsequent conduct of this pious heroine, that she, upon every occasion, vigorously
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exerted herself, in relieving all those, whose distresses came to her knowledge.

'Twas thus that she chiefly employed herself during those tumultuous times. For, as it has been already observed, she never sided with any party, nor ever entered into any cabal. But, although her prudence prevented her forming any such dangerous connections, yet, by her penetration, she was enabled to acquire a perfect knowledge of all the different interests and pursuits of each party, and to develope, with admirable accuracy, the various characters, both of those who appeared as actors in the scene, and, also, of those, who, though concealed themselves, directed the motions of the rest. No one, therefore, was so well qualified to write the history of her own times, as the person who composed the following memoirs; seeing that she was perfectly acquainted with every circumstance which she relates, and that the love of truth, alone, directed her pen.

Finally, let no one be surprized, should he find, depicted in these memoirs, some foibles of very eminent persons, of divers characters. The finest pictures have their shades: and there are few persons to be found whose virtues are not, in part, obscured by some defect. It is not at all astonishing, therefore, that amongst the greatest men, who have distinguished themselves in our days, both as heroes and as politicians, some of them should, at times, have given themselves up to the sole guidance of their passions. That disregard for religion, with which some of them were infected, in those fatal times, deadened their faculties, and rendered them incapable of perceiving all the dangers to which their erroneous conduct exposed them. But, when, by an effect of the divine goodness, they were
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rouzed from this lethargy, those principles of probity and justice, which they possessed, having rendered them equally the objects of imitation in christian life; as they had before been in the arts of war and policy, the triumph of grace shone forth in them in its full lustre; and they edified mankind as much by their solid virtues and by their exemplary piety, as they had formerly charmed them by the vast extent of their abilities, and their intrepidity in the midst of dangers. What history relates, of some false steps of their youth, cannot, therefore, obscure their glory. It was in this persuasion that the illustrious author of these memoirs deemed it necessary to omit nothing, which the accuracy of history requires: firmly believing that she should not, thereby, do the least injury to those great men, for whom, moreover, she entertained an infinite esteem.



MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
D U C H E S S D E N E M O U R S.

P A R T T H E F I R S T.

WERE we to judge from the present peaceful and triumphant state of the kingdom of France, and from the wisdom and absolute power with which it is governed, we might easily be led to conclude that it has ever been thus subjected to legal authority; and it is with difficulty that we persuade ourselves that it could, at any time, be reduced to the situation in which we have seen it, during the regency of Anne of Austria,* our sovereign's mother.

It is certain, however, that the administration of Cardinal Mazarin,† who had been invested with an unlimited power by that Princess, was become, at one period of the regency, so odious to the whole nation, that even those, who were reputed the most discreet, found themselves forced, in a manner, to revolt even against the lawful authority of the state, in order to free themselves from, what appeared to them to be, a real oppression. And, with the view of annihilating this illegally-assumed power, those persons, to whom the conduct of the ministry was, at length, become insupportable, excited so many troubles, and formed such a variety of factions in the nation, as must, inevitably, have crushed the regal power during the King's minority, had not Providence, ever watchful over that Prince's welfare, heaped upon him,

* Anne of Austria, the eldest daughter of Philip III. King of Spain. She died at Paris, in 1666.

† Jules Mazarin, Cardinal and Prime Minister of State. He died at Vincennes, in 1661.

him, from the first, those marks of favour and protection, which he has constantly experienced, ever since. The animosity which these persons entertained against the King's ministers must, certainly, have prevented their reflecting, that it was God who had appointed this prince to reign over them, and that, having been destined, by that supreme power, to give law to Europe, he was accountable to no one else for his conduct.

This Prince was born at St. Germain, on the 5th of September 1638. He succeeded to the crown on the 14th of May 1643, and, on the fifth day of his reign, the Duke of Enguien obtained a victory over the Spaniards, at Rocroi: which might justly be considered as a presage of the future glory and felicity of the reign of Lewis XIV. and a happy omen of the blessings which the nation might expect from the regency of the Queen his mother.

In the former part of the regency, all things, in fact, wore the most favourable appearance; and, for several years together, the arms of the young King were crowned with the most brilliant success. These circumstances, therefore, were so many prognostics of those great and extraordinary events, from whence he has derived so much glory, and has been enabled, since the period of his coming of age, to carry the limits of his empire to so vast an extent.

It was through the influence of the star which presided at the birth of this Prince that, whilst yet in his childhood, he was enabled to subdue the numerous factions, which had sprung from the people's hatred to Cardinal Mazarin; to calm all the troubles which had been excited by those factions, and to compel all his subjects to sacrifice their abhorrence of that minister to the duty which they owed their King. Finally, it was by these first essays that this new Cæsar began his reign in Gaul: a reign which, from the very æra of his coming of age, proved still more glorious, than even those of the first Cæsars, his predecessors.

My sole design in writing these memoirs is to give a plain narrative, as far as I can remember, of every incident worth notice, which happened, within my knowledge, during the King's minority: for I am not capable

ble of relating, with that dignity which the subject would require, all the great actions which he has done since that time. Therefore, I shall speak only of the miserable state to which the kingdom of France was reduced, by the implacable hatred which had been conceived against Cardinal Mazarin, and which, nevertheless, did not break out till after he had, very unadvisedly, refused the advantageous peace, which the Spaniards offered us at Munster, by consenting that we should retain all our conquests.

This refusal occasioned new taxes to be laid upon the people, and created a suspicion that, in order to have a pretext for perpetuating them, that minister intended to eternize the war.

After having given a sketch of the troubles and disorders which agitated the kingdom, during the time in which our new Augustus governed the state by his ministers only, nearly in like manner as our Kings of the first race governed, by their mayors of the palace; I shall shew the secret motives, and shall depict the different characters of the principal actors, both of the court party and of that of the parliament, which latter was entitled the *Fronde*, and the major part of the members of which pretended to be influenced by no other motive, than a regard for the public welfare, and the defence of the violated rights of the people.

But, before I proceed any further, it will be necessary for me to relate what was the first cause of the court's displeasure against the parliament, antecedent to the time of the *Fronde*. His Majesty having been taken dangerously ill, with the small pox, the Queen, the Duke of Orleans,* and the Prince of Conde† were very assiduous in making their court to the members of that assembly, foreseeing that, in case the King should die, they should stand in need of their favour, with respect to the appointment of a new regency. In consequence of this conduct of the Queen and their Highnesses, the parliament

* Gaston de France, uncle of the King, Louis XIV. He died at Blois, in 1660.

† Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Enguien, succeeded to the title of Prince of Condé in 1646. He died at Fontainebleau, in 1686.

ment was become so arrogant, that his Majesty could not have fixed on a more improper time for enforcing obedience to his orders, by carrying to the Palais, immediately upon his recovery, a number of edicts, to be registered. By some of these edicts, additional burdens were laid on the people; by others, the payment of the salaries of certain officers of the state was suspended; some contained appointments of an additional number of masters of requests; and others, again, decreed that, in future, on the death of any officer of the state, his post should devolve to the King, who should be at liberty to sell it to whoever he should think proper; and, in consequence, deprived the families of the deceased of every benefit arising therefrom.

The parliament, though they highly disapproved of these edicts, did not, however, too openly manifest their displeasure, at the time of their being delivered to them. But, as it is not in the King's presence that objections are started, they afterwards sent a deputation to the Queen, with the most humble remonstrances, and to represent to her Majesty that those edicts were of such a nature, as to exclude all possibility of their being registered. Nor was it at all unusual for the parliament to remonstrate in this manner, or to refuse to register such edicts as they did not approve; on the contrary, they not unfrequently exercised this power without any opposition from the court. But it was otherwise in the present case: for her Majesty not only determined, that the parliament should not enter into a debate on the subject of those edicts, but also refused to grant an audience to their deputies.

The court of masters of requests sent a separate deputation to the Queen, but they did not meet with a more favourable reception, than those of the parliament had experienced. However, as they were more particularly interested in the affair, the loss of their posts exposing their families to inevitable ruin, they, from the first, acted with greater vigour than any of the rest of the officers, and neglected nothing to animate those of the parliament, who were already sufficiently exasperated. These latter adopted a more prudent and crafty conduct; for, instead of
talking

talking of their own interests, they made those of the public the constant topics of their discourse, and declared that they would register no more edicts, for the purpose of taxing the people, who were, already, but too much oppressed. This declaration, which they took good care to spread through the city, proved so successful, that the people carried their reverence for them almost to adoration, and gave them the strongest reason to believe, from the extravagant manner in which they testified their applause and gratitude, that they were ready to go any lengths in their defence.

The parliament, finding itself thus firmly supported, now became much more haughty and more formidable also. A general union was proposed by all the superior courts, and by the city corporation, that they might be the better enabled to defend their common rights. Cardinal Mazarin, having been informed of this proposal, sent for the deputies of all the superior courts, and acquainted them that the Queen was fully determined not to suffer those courts to issue any edict for a similar union. And, those gentlemen having answered, that the above intended measure would not be in the least prejudicial to the King's service, his eminency replied that it was sufficient that the Queen did not approve of it, and that, if the King should think proper to forbid their wearing band-strings, they must not presume to wear them, as it was not so much the thing prohibited, as the prohibition, which constituted the offence. The deputies, however, returned to their respective courts, in order to make a report of what had passed at their interview with the Cardinal, whose comparison of the band-strings they treated with the utmost derision, and on which subject a great number of burlesque pieces were, at that time, published, both in prose and verse. They also ridiculed him very highly, for having, instead of saying *l'arret d'union*, [the edict of union] said *l'arret d'oignon* [the edict of onion ;] which blunder arose from his inability to pronounce the French language in a proper manner.

At length, after having diverted themselves for some time at the Cardinal's expence, they came to a resolution, to issue the above-mentioned edict of union on the very
next

next day, which was accordingly executed, in spite of the orders which the Queen sent them, in the morning, prohibiting them from proceeding any further in their design: so much were they puffed up with the importance which they had acquired during the King's illness, as I have before related. They further decreed that letters should be written to all the other parliaments of the kingdom, to request their concurrence in the above measure. And as it was this proceeding which laid the first foundation of the subsequent revolt and rebellion, so from hence, also, must be dated the commencement of what was called the *Fronde*, which derived its principal source from the contempt in which the Cardinal was held, and which was chiefly founded on the weakness and timidity of his disposition, which began to shew itself very early in the regency, on the following occasion. The curate of the parish of S. Eustache being dead, the Queen had appointed another person to succeed to the office; but all the inhabitants of that quarter, even to the very fish-sellers, assembled, and in a most tumultuous manner, went in a body to the palace, peremptorily insisting that the nephew of the deceased, a man who, by his extensive charities and by the singular piety of his life had gained the affections of all the parishioners, should be appointed their curate, and declaring that they would accept of no other person. Her Majesty and the Cardinal were weak enough to consent to what these people required with so much insolence: from whence many intelligent persons took occasion to observe, that this proof of the Cardinal's want of resolution would be attended with very pernicious consequences: an observation which was fully verified in the sequel.

This irresolution of the Cardinal, joined with the dependance which the parliament placed on the people in consequence of the eagerness with which they themselves seized every opportunity to manifest their firm attachment to the interests of that assembly, contributed still more to encrease their insolence. They [the parliament] well knew that, to obtain any thing from his eminency, nothing further was necessary, than to mislead and to menace him; that, moreover, he was sensible

neither

spite of neither of injures nor services; that neither cruelty nor morning, malice entered into his character; that, equally avaricious in their and timid, he could never be induced to grant the impor- favours to any, save to those who had, or might do f's illness, him a disservice. And it was from the perfect know- that let- ledge of his weaknesses, that the *Fronde* were ena- bled, in all their contests with the Cardinal, so easily above mea- to obtain from him whatever they thought proper to d the first require.

ellion, so The disrespectful conduct of the parliament towards cement of the court flowed also from the same source; that principal thorough contempt which they entertained for the Cardinal was minister, and of which they knew him to be so justly deserving; and this contempt was, at length, carried to weakness to shew it such an excess, that the Queen, unable any longer to occasion, bear with it, determined to exert her authority against dead, the those gentlemen. But this resolution was taken too need to the late to produce any good effect: and of this her Majesty, even to ty became but too well convinced, when, having sent tumultuous the chancellor, * to command the parliament, in her torily in name, to break up their assemblies, the fury of the who, by the people rose to so great a height on the occasion, that of his life the chancellor would, certainly, have been torn in rs, should pieces by them, before he could have reached the Palais, they would had he not found means to make his escape out the Cardi of their hands; and the Marshal de la Meilleraye, † whom the Queen had sent, with the whole regiment of ese people guards, to extricate him from his perilous situation, nce man and to re-conduct him to the Palais Royal, was exposed t this proc to imminent danger, in the execution of his com- e attende mission. tion which

with the Those who had the greatest share in exciting all the people troubles and disorders, both in the parliament and he people amongst the people, were Broussel ‡ and Blancmesnil, § and they them and

their first * Peter Seguier, chancellor of France and keeper of the seals. contributed He died in 1673.

[the pa † Charles de la Porte, Duke de la Meilleraye, marshal of France. g from h He died in 1664.

n to misf ‡ Peter Broussel, a member of the grand chamber of the parlia- was sensib ment.

neithe § René Poitier, [*Sieur de*] Lord of Blancmesnil, one of the presi- dents of the parliament.

and they were the persons, also, who spoke, with the most insolence, against the edicts which the King had delivered to the parliament, and who even opposed their being registered with so much vehemence, that the Queen found herself, in a manner, compelled to issue orders for taking them both into custody. These orders were executed on the 26th of August 1648.; on which day a Te-Deum was sung, for the victory obtained over the Spaniards, at Lens. The detention of Broussel and Blancmesnil induced some of the most mutinous amongst the citizens, to give orders for barricading the streets of Paris, with the view of making themselves masters of the King's person, of driving Cardinal Mazarin out of the city and the kingdom, and of procuring the number of those who governed the state, under her Majesty's authority, to be augmented.

There was scarcely one person, of all those who declared themselves against the court, but who either had, or, at least, imagined that he had, some private reason for his conduct, and who did not endeavour, nevertheless, to create a belief, that he was actuated, solely, by a regard for the interests of the people and for the public welfare.

It is certain, however, that they were influenced by a concern for their own interests, more than by any other consideration. And to begin with Broussel and Blancmesnil, who had always appeared the most zealous, and whom the Queen had ordered to be seized alone, for that reason. The first of these had been disgusted, by the refusal of the court to yield to his application, for a company in the guards for his son; and the resentment of the latter had been excited, by the banishment of his relation, the bishop of Beauvais, * whom Cardinal Mazarin had caused to be exiled, on a suspicion that he possessed too great a share of favour at court, and that he aspired to the dignity of prime minister.

Longueil,

* Augustin Poitier, Bishop and Count of Beauvais, who was almoner to the Queen-Mother, and was one of her chief confidants, uncle to the President de Blancmesnil.

Longueil, * was the third person, in the parliament, who declared himself against the court, and the motive by which he was influenced thereto, exclusive of the general pretext, made use of by all the rest, was his having been refused the post of chancellor to the Queen.

The other members of the Parliament followed the example set them by these persons, and declared themselves one after another; being actuated much less by a desire of serving the public, although that was constantly their pretext, than by a design to promote their own secret views.

Whilst the streets of the city remained barricadoed, in consequence of which the Queen found herself compelled to release the prisoners, a great variety of incidents happened, although matters continued in that state for a few days only. But I shall take no notice of them here, both as they have before been related by others, and, also, as I have determined to make mention of those circumstances only, which they may have omitted, concerning the motives and characters of the persons, whose conduct has already been so amply described.

The court quitted Paris in a short time after the removal of the barricadoes, and did not return thither till after the parliament had accommodated matters with the Queen-Mother, but which, in fact, they effected on their own terms: a circumstance which gave great vexation to Cardinal Mazarin, and still more to the Queen. And accordingly, when the parliament met again, which was about the time of the feast of St. Martin, the intrigues and cabals were renewed, with greater ardour than ever. The court, therefore, resolved to block up the city of Paris: but, before I say any thing of that blockade, it will be proper to give the names of those great personages who came to offer their services to the parliament; and, at the same time, to mention something concerning their characters, and

* René de Longueil de Maisons, one of the presidents of the parliament. He died in 1677.

and the motives by which they were induced to take that step.

Every one will, doubtless, be surprized to find that the Dutcheſs de Longueville * was one of the firſt who came: ſhe, who could have no expectations from that party, nor could have any thing to fear neither, and who had not the leaſt cauſe whatever to complain of the court.

With regard to the Prince of Conde, † although he appeared to enter into a kind of engagement with the parliament, and although he had even conſented to ſomething like a negotiation, which was carried on, in his behalf, by the Duke de Châtillon, ‡ and, on the ſide of the parliament, by the Preſident Viole, yet he never had any intention to unite with any other party than that of the court. In all the ſteps which he, at firſt, affected to take, in oppoſition to the court, he had no other view, than to revenge himſelf on Cardinal Mazarin, who had engaged him to undertake the ſiege of Lerida, § on a promiſe of furniſhing him with both a larger body of troops, and a greater quantity of ammunition, than he afterwards ſent him; in conſequence of which, his Highneſs was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, having neither a force, nor ammunition ſufficient to reduce the place. And, when he, at laſt, feigned to enter into the party of the parliament, it was only in hopes of being enabled, thereby, to make better terms for himſelf with that miniſter, whoſe power he wiſhed to diminſh a little, that he might the more eaſily obtain from him what he demanded. Thus the Prince united with the *Frondeurs*, leſs with the deſign of ſerving, than of deceiving them, and, by that means, to procure for himſelf an advantageous accommodation with the court.

THESE

* Anne-Genevieve de Bourbon, Dutcheſs de Longueville, ſiſter of Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, and of Armand, Prince of Conti. She died in 1679.

† Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé.

‡ Louis-Gaſpard de Coligny, Duke de Châtillon. He was killed in the attack of Charenton, in 1649.

§ In the year 1647.

These were the sole motives by which the Prince of Condé was induced to pretend a willingness to join the party of the parliament, and to consent to the negotiation of which I have already spoken: but, in truth, he soon dropped the mask. What first compelled him to adopt a conduct more consonant with his natural inclination, as well as with his duty, was an incident which happened in the parliament, a short time before the commencement of the blockade of Paris. One Coulon, a zealous *Frondeur*, having observed, with much vehemence, that, whilst every art was used to lull them into security, the King's troops were advancing towards the city, the Prince asked him, with a haughty air, who commanded those troops: and Coulon answering that they were headed by Colonel David, his Highness replied, that, although he had long had the command of the King's armies, yet he had never heard of a colonel of that name before. He then ridiculed both Coulon and his unknown colonel, with so much severity, that the assembly looked upon Coulon as a visionarian, and considered his story of the approach of the troops, under his pretended colonel, as a mere fable; although nothing was, in fact, less fabulous. But, the Prince of Condé having, from hence, taken occasion again to raise his voice, and to resume that haughtiness, which was so natural to him, the assembly openly and loudly manifested their resentment of his behaviour: which so highly incensed the Prince, that he made a sign with his hand, as if he meant to intimidate one of the members, whose name was Quatre-Sous. This created much murmuring in the assembly, and Quatre-Sous, exclaiming that the Prince had menaced him, demanded justice for the insult. But those who were most attached to the Prince of Condé alledged, in his excuse, that he accustomed himself much to that gesture, and did not mean it as a menace. To this Quatre-Sous replied, with an air of great insolence, that, if it was his customary gesture, he ought to break himself of it, as it was a very unbecoming one: which so irritated his Highness that, from that day, he made Cardinal Mazarin's quarrel with the parliament his own affair.

The

The Duke de Bouillon * sided with the parliament, under the pretence of the court's having neglected to indemnify him for the loss of the sovereignty of Sedan; of which he pretended to have been unjustly deprived, by the late King, although many persons affirmed that his father † possessed himself of it by an artifice, by guiding the hand of the real heiress, ‡ after her decease, and thus causing her to sign the bequest of it to him, in like manner as if she had been alive at the time. This, at least, is what has been reported; but I do not pretend to assert it for a fact.

But, to return to the motives which induced the Duke de Bouillon to declare himself against the court, he was in hopes that, by putting himself at the head of a considerable party, of which he expected to be chosen the leader, he should be the more easily enabled to right himself in his pretensions. Others have imagined that, in concert with his brother, M. de Turenne, § he had formed a project to reduce France to a similar state with that to which Holland had been reduced, by Prince Maurice of Nassau. But it is scarcely to be imagined that so vague and extravagant a design, and so difficult of execution, could have been conceived by persons of such good sense, as the two brothers above-mentioned.

It is much more probable that the Duke de Bouillon joined the parliament, under a notion that he should become the leader of that party: but, soon finding his error, he constantly pretended to be troubled with the gout, on every occasion in which they required his services. He perceived, therefore, that he had not acquired so much consequence with his party, as he had promised himself from the great power possessed

* Frederic-Maurice de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon. He died in 1652.

† Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne, Duke de Bouillon, sovereign Prince of Sedan. He died in 1623.

‡ Charlotte de la Marck, heiress of Sedan, Dutchesse de Bouillon. She died, without issue, in 1654, and bequeathed all her possessions to her husband.

§ Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne, Marshal of France. He was killed by a cannon ball, in Germany, in 1675.

possessed by his brother, M. de Turenne, who commanded the numerous army, which Hervart * afterwards secured for the court, by dint of money. But what still augmented his disgust against the parliament's party was to find himself opposed by the Dukes of Elbeuf † and Beaufort, ‡ and the Marshal de la Mothe, § not to mention the Prince of Conti, ¶ who had still stronger pretensions than all the other leaders.

This competition between so many commanders was an effect of the parliament's policy. According to some, that assembly gave hopes to each of the candidates, separately, that he should be invested with the supreme direction of all their affairs, in order, by that means, to engage a greater number of persons of the first quality in their party. But, according to others, many of those gentlemen entered into secret negotiations with the parliament, the knowledge of which they cautiously concealed from the rest.

It was thought that the Duke de Bouillon would, however, receive some consolation for the destruction of his projects, from being thus enabled to indulge that passionate fondness which he and the Dutchess ** ever manifested, for embarking in every party which was raised in opposition to the interests of France, and in which there was any prospect of their having the least commerce with Spain.

The Duke of Elbeuf entered into the party, from a similar persuasion, as I have already observed, that he should command therein without a competitor.

The Marshal de la Mothe was influenced by his friendship for the Duke de Longueville, †† and, also

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* Hervart, the comptroller-general of the finances, who sold to the King the house at S. Cloud, for Monsieur, his Majesty's brother.

† Charles de Lorraine, the second of that name, Duke of Elbeuf. He died in 1657.

‡ Francis de Vendôme, Duke of Beaufort. He was killed in defending Candia, in 1669.

§ Philip de la Mothe-Houdancourt, Marshal of France. His widow still possesses the post of governess to the King's children. He died in 1657.

¶ Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti. He died in 1666.

** Leonor-Catherine Fabronie de Bergh, Dutchess de Bouillon.

†† Henry of Orleans, the second of that name, Duke de Longueville.

by a desire of revenging himself for the four years imprisonment, which the court had caused him to undergo.

Finally the Duke of Beaufort's motive for uniting himself with the parliament was, his resentment of the imprisonment, which he, also, had suffered, from the very commencement of the regency, and during which the court had even proceeded so far, as to institute a criminal process against him, on a suspicion of his having formed a design against the life of Cardinal Mazarin: he had made his escape at the beginning of the summer, and had remained closely concealed ever since.

At the first commencement of the disturbances in the parliament, Madame de Vendôme, * the Duke's mother, presented a petition to that assembly, requesting that they would issue an edict of justification, in favour of her son: but, although she met with a flattering reception from that body, yet the affair was, nevertheless, suffered to drop. The Duke of Beaufort, therefore, made a tender of his services to the parliament, † influenced as much by his enmity to the Cardinal, as by a desire of vindicating his character from the above calumny, and of, thereby, procuring for himself a secure asylum.

This nobleman appeared, at first view, a very extraordinary person: he had formed such a jargon of low words, and which were so much misplaced, in his common discourse, that he thereby rendered himself the object of every one's ridicule; not but that, had these words been properly placed, they might, perhaps, have appeared to advantage. This, however, did not prevent his becoming, in the end, master of the city of Paris: from which circumstance, some took occasion to observe, as an excuse for his expressing himself in so unintelligible and vulgar a manner, that it was necessary that a King should speak the language of his subjects: for his great popularity had acquired him the title of, King [*des Halles*] of the markets.

The Dutchess de Longueville and he had both been engaged in the cabal, in opposition to the regency; and,

* Françoise de Lorraine, Dutchess de Mercœur, wife of César, Duke de Vendôme.

† On the 14th of January 1649.

and, although they did not openly manifest a hatred for each other, yet there had always subsisted a certain degree of concealed enmity between them; for which reason, he preferred connecting himself with the Coadjutor, rather than with the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess.

The people of Paris had been so much prepossessed in his favour, by the Coadjutor, * who had insinuated to them that he was irreconcilable with Cardinal Mazarin, and, consequently, was incapable of deceiving them, that they, in a manner, joined adoration with the affection which they bore him. He possessed no abilities, but he had so good an opinion of himself, that he easily imposed on weak people. He even pretended to more frankness than he really had, and, from this kind of conduct, half natural and half assumed, he seemed to possess a greater share of sincerity than the most intelligent persons had been able to discover in him: which induced the rest to place the most implicit confidence in his fidelity.

As the Dutchess de Longueville had concealed with great address, the disagreement between her and her brother, the Prince of Condé, no one suspected it to be real, till, deeming it for her interest that it should be known, she consented to its being made public. On this account, the Parisians could not be prevailed on to put any trust either in the Prince of Conti, or in her; and which circumstance also gave such great advantages to the other party which was in the city, and which was in opposition to them.

The Prince of Condé was extremely fond of the Dutchess, his sister. And she, on her side, was attached to him less through motives of interest, than from the great esteem and the tender friendship which she entertained for him.

At that time, neither the Prince of Condé nor any of the cabal were qualified to form any designs, in the projecting of which much skill was required; and, although they were endowed with great abilities, yet they em-

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ployed

* John-Francis-Paul de Gondy, Cardinal de Retz and Coadjutor [to the archbishop] of Paris.

ployed them, solely, in polite and sprightly conversations, in commenting and refining on the delicate sensations of the heart and the mind: they considered all genius as consisting in making subtle distinctions, and in raising systems thereon which were sometimes very little conformable to nature. Those, then, who shone the most in these kinds of conversations, were reckoned the politest and most ingenious men: whilst every thing that wore the least appearance of serious and solid conversation, was treated as ridiculous and ungenteel.

The Dutchess de Longueville was but little versed in political knowledge: and so very defective was she in that point, that some, years before the time of which I am now speaking, * she had observed, without any chagrin, as if it had been a matter of no consequence, the great affection and attachment which subsisted between the Prince of Condé and Mademoiselle du Vigan, † with whom she had contracted a strict friendship, and had even been entrusted with the secret of this reciprocal attachment. Mademoiselle du Vigan, who was of the same disposition with the Dutchess de Longueville, had remarked, with equal unconcern, the extreme tenderness of the Prince of Condé for his sister. It is true that, when both had acquired a greater degree of experience, in becoming more politic, they also became insupportable to each other. Chabot, ‡ who, in virtue of the Prince of Condé's great confidence and friendship for him, was become Mademoiselle du Vigan's chief adviser, convinced her how necessary it was that she should acquire an unrivalled influence over that Prince: in which design she perfectly succeeded.

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* *All the circumstances which are related here, respecting Mademoiselle du Vigan, are to be considered as having happened previous to the blockade of Paris, and before the demise of Henry, Prince of Condé, who died in 1646.*

† Mademoiselle du Vigan, daughter of Francis Pouffart, Marquis de For and Baron du Vigan. She died in a religious community, of which she had become a member.

‡ Henry Chabot, Duke de Rohan. He died in 1655.

The Marshal d'Albret, as also the Duke de la Rochefoucault, * who was still more politic than the Marshal, so clearly demonstrated to the Dutchess de Longueville, the great injury her interests would receive, from her suffering any other person to share with her the power which she had acquired over the Prince of Condé, who seemed, in a manner, to be the master of the kingdom, at that juncture, that she determined to destroy the close connection which existed between Mademoiselle du Vigean and the Prince; and, that she might the better succeed therein, she began with communicating her intention to that lady, who expressed a violent resentment on the occasion. The Dutchess then engaged the Marshal d'Albret to feign a passion for Mademoiselle du Vigean, in order to give the Prince of Condé a disgust to her: but Chabot, having warned the Prince that this stratagem could have been planned by no one but the Dutchess de Longueville, caused him to direct all his resentment against her alone. And thus the connection between his Highness and Mademoiselle du Vigean became rather stronger than before, and he now entertained no other sentiments for the Dutchess, than those of the greatest indifference. But what greatly increased this indifference was, that the Prince of Condé's passion for his mistress became, at length, so violent, that, having always had an intention of procuring himself to be divorced from his wife, ever since the death of Cardinal de Richelieu, † under the pretext that he had been forced into that marriage, he determined to espouse her, (M. du Vigean) and even acquainted his mother ‡ with his intention. That lady being resolved, at any rate, to obtain credit with her son, professed herself

* Francis, Duke de la Rochefoucault, the sixth of that name. He was author of the "Memoirs of the Minority of Louis XIV." and of the "Maxims:" he died in 1680. Till the year 1650, he bore the title of, Prince de Marillac.

† Armand-John du Pleffis, Cardinal de Richelieu. He died in 1642.

‡ Charlotte-Margaret de Montmorenci, daughter of the constable of France, widow of Henry II. Prince of Condé. She died in 1650.

herself highly pleased with his choice, and spoke of Mademoiselle du Vigean in the most obliging terms.

Mademoiselle du Vigean even ventured to mention the matter to the Dutchess de Longueville, who, without testifying any displeasure at the time, acquainted the Prince, * her father, therewith; having accommodated her difference with him, purposely to inflame him still more against his son. And he, in consequence, violently resented the matter, uttering the most injurious expressions, against both the lover and the mistresses.

The Prince of Condé, on his part, irritated to the utmost against his sister, resolved to set no bounds to his resentment; and he, accordingly, informed the Duke de Longueville, her husband, of every circumstance which he imagined could prejudice her in his opinion, having even proceeded so far as to advise him to confine her in one of his country seats.

The Duke de Longueville, who was already sufficiently apprized of his wife's conduct, made no scruple to believe every thing which his brother-in-law had told him concerning her: but there he stopped, and could not be prevailed on to take any spirited measures in consequence. Besides that he was, naturally, not very susceptible of delicate sensations, he was incapable of doing an act of violence. But what will appear totally inexplicable is, that the Prince of Condé, who had expressed so much resentment against the Dutchess de Longueville, through the excess of his passion for Mademoiselle du Vigean, became, in a very short time, after a disorder which he contracted some time after the battle of Norlingue, † as regardless of the person for whom he had entertained so strong an affection, as if he had never heard her name mentioned.

However, although Mademoiselle du Vigean was now entirely out of the question, yet the brother and
sister

* Henry de Bourbon, the second of that name, Prince of Conde. He died in 1646.

† In the year 1645.

sister still continued at variance. The Prince of Condé retained a great contempt for the Dutchess de Longueville, whilst she, on her side, manifested a strong aversion for him. But, as she had found a very sensible satisfaction in the universal respect and the great importance, which she had acquired, through his means, she determined to supply the loss of his support by her cabals; and this she was the more easily enabled to effect, as those, with whom she connected herself, for this purpose, desirous of availing themselves, in their turn, of her influence, continually represented to her how much it was to the honour of a woman to be seen engaged in affairs of consequence, and how great a share of credit and reputation she would from thence derive; besides the pleasure which she felt in uniting herself with a party, which was in opposition to that of her brother's. For, although he seemed inclined to enter into that party with which she had sided, yet she knew him too well to believe him capable of such an action, being convinced, moreover, of his strong aversion to all parties in general.

But the consideration by which she was chiefly incited to this conduct, and of which she was principally susceptible was that, by thus intermeddling in the important affairs of a party, she flattered herself that she should encrease the reputation of her abilities, an eager desire to effect which constituted the ruling passion of her soul. In a word, every thing which she judged to be most conducive to the accomplishment of this design outweighed, with her, all other considerations whatsoever.

And it was on this account also, that she constantly made matters of the most consequence give way to those of slight import; and whoever should have expected to have found her actuated by motives of real solidity, would, doubtless, have been greatly deceived; as she commonly sacrificed both her fortune and tranquillity to her passion for fame. But, as she, in general, placed that fame where it did not exist, she seldom derived any other satisfaction from all her pursuits, than the vain imagination of having sought it where it was to be found.

The

The Duke de la Rochefoucault was the person who suggested to this Princess these chimerical and false notions. As his influence over her was very great, and as he considered his own interest alone, he had no other view, in leading her into the various intrigues in which she took part, than that of making good terms for himself by her means.

With respect to the Duke de Longueville, although he had good cause to be offended at having been excluded from all share in the secret negotiations, which had been carried on, at Munster, between those persons with whom he had been jointly appointed, as plenipotentiary from the French court, he, nevertheless, expressed no resentment on that head. It was not this circumstance, therefore, which induced him to declare himself against the court; but Cardinal Mazarin, who was not sufficiently acquainted with his disposition, fearing that he entertained a due sense of the indignity which had been, thereby, offered him, and that, in order to revenge himself, he might be induced to discover to the world, that he (the Cardinal) had defeated the negotiations for a peace; under these apprehensions, I say, his eminency, with the intention of appeasing him in a matter in which he was not at all offended, unfortunately blundered upon the means of irritating him in reality.

He well knew that the Duke earnestly wished to obtain the government of Havre, which was the sole place of importance in Normandy which he had not in his hands, and the possession of which would have absolutely rendered him master of the whole province. The Cardinal, therefore, impowered a person, named Priolo, to give him hopes of his acquiring that place, but without any design, nevertheless, of conferring it on him, having no other view than to protract the negotiation, and to amuse and dazzle him with that vain hope. And, as the Duke de Longueville was too strongly bent on completing the business to suffer any delays, he pressed the matter so closely, that Priolo gave him an absolute promise, in the Cardinal's name, that he should be put in possession of the government in question; but,
at

at length, his impatience compelled the Cardinal frankly to declare to him that he had never made any such promise.

The minister was known to pay very little regard to his promises, and Priolo bore the character of a very great liar. Thus it has ever remained doubtful, which of the two was guilty of the deception; but the most rational opinion, which prevailed at that time, was that the Cardinal might, perhaps, have promised less than what Priolo had advanced, and, at the same time, more than what he was willing to acknowledge.

However, upon this occasion, the Duke de Longueville gave greater credit to the Cardinal's secretary than to that minister: from whence arose a most violent animosity between them, which, when it became public, great numbers of persons used all their endeavours to encrease, and to render that minister still more odious to the people: and this they were enabled to effect with the greater facility, as he was now become despised and hated by the whole kingdom in general.

Just at this period, the Dutchesse de Longueville returned from Normandy, and, as she was pregnant, she borrowed of the archbishop of Paris * his seat at Noisi, it lying very convenient for her attendance on the court: the Duke de Longueville very frequently visited her at that place. The Coadjutor, also, under the pretext of doing the honours of his uncle's house, often repaired thither, for the purpose of negotiating, and he made so many propositions, and was so importunate with the Duke de Longueville, that he, at length, obtained from him a promise, that he would devote himself to the service of the kingdom and the parliament. But the Duke meant no otherwise than to serve them in the council, into which he had been admitted since the commencement of the regency; it having never entered his thoughts that a civil war would ensue. Neither could he be persuaded, but with great difficulty, to repair to Paris, during the blockade of that city; not

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considering

* John Francis de Gondy, the first archbishop of Paris. He died in 1654.

considering himself as being, in anywise, obligated thereto. And thus, as he had, from the first, no design to make any stay there, and as, moreover, he perceived that the parliament had no post to confer on him suitable to his rank, he soon quitted the city and returned to Normandy, whither he was followed by the Duke de Retz,* who, as M. Saint Evremond † has observed, was considered in no other light, in the city, than merely as a Duke and Peer of the kingdom.

Immediately upon the Duke de Longueville's arrival in Normandy, the whole province declared in his favour, and the Count d'Harcourt, ‡ whom the court had deputed to command there, was instantly driven out.

But, to give some account, in this place, of the character of the Duke de Longueville, after having said so much of the motives by which he was actuated; that nobleman had, at various times, entered into other affairs in the same manner as he had entered into this; that is to say constantly without design. He was of so easy a disposition, that he never rejected any application but with great unwillingness; more especially in matters the execution of which appeared to him to be either doubtful or unlikely.

With respect to the Coadjutor, although he shewed himself so active and zealous in the interests of the parliament, yet he had never had any reason to complain of the court: on the contrary, it was to the Queen that he stood indebted for the coadjutorship [to the archbishop] of Paris. But his ambition was boundless, and he had determined, whatever it might cost, to advance himself to the cardinalship: a dignity with which two bishops of Paris of his name, § had formerly been

* Peter de Gondy, Duke de Retz. He died in 1676.

† Charles Marquetel de St. Dennis, [Seigneur de] Lord of Saint Evremond. He died in England, in 1703.

‡ Henry de Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt. He died in 1666.

§ Peter, Cardinal de Gondy, bishop of Paris, who died in 1616; and Henry de Gondy, who had the title of Cardinal de Retz, bishop of Paris: he died in 1622.

been invested. A man of good sense, rectitude of mind, and regularity of conduct would have imagined that the most sure, most short, most becoming, and most just method of rendering his Prince favourable to his wishes was by manifesting his fidelity: he would have trusted chiefly to this mode of conduct for his success, and would never have thought of establishing his grandeur and his glory on any other basis, than that of his duty; and, finally, by these means alone he would have been enabled to have attained his aims. But, as the Coadjutor could find no satisfaction but in extraordinary adventures only, he conceived a notion that the most probable way to effect his purpose, would be to create divisions and disorders in the state. Besides, that such violent proceedings were most conformable to his disposition, he was, as I have already observed, so much addicted to every thing which wore the appearance of being extraordinary, that he would have preferred succeeding in a trifling or even a bad attempt, by such methods, rather than to have reaped a real and solid advantage from the prosecution of an honourable design, but which could not be accomplished but by ordinary means. Although he possessed much penetration, and a considerable degree of capacity, yet he was subject to such unaccountable foibles, that he commonly piqued himself on those qualities to which he had the least claim, even pretending to gallantry, tho' nature had been rather unfavourable to him in his person, and to bravery, although he was a priest.

He had some other foibles, also, which were productive of all those evils in which the kingdom was subsequently involved by him. But it will, doubtless, hardly be imagined what it was which first filled his brain with such a number of idle and chimerical notions; and it will be difficult to conceive, that a man possessed of such talents could have adopted an idea so extravagant, as that by which he was constantly influenced, in his eagerness and impetuosity, in support of the *Fronde* and the parliament.

During the time of his residence in Italy, he, very unfortunately, met with the history of the conspiracy of

of Louis de Fiesque ; * and, as the reading romances commonly proves very prejudicial to young persons, whose minds are disposed to love, the perusal of the above book so effectually turned the brain of this ambitious man, that he even ventured to undertake a justification of this second Catiline, † whose conduct the author of the history has so justly and wisely condemned. And it will be sufficient to read the work which he (the Coadjutor) composed on the subject, but under the pretext, solely, of translating the history of the conspiracy, to be convinced how much he was charmed both with the act and with the actors ; as he appears to have translated and commented upon it for no other purpose, than to justify the conduct and the motives of the Count de la Vaigne. He even took more pride and pleasure in the title of " Young Catiline," which was sometimes given him, than he promised himself from his advancement to the cardinalship : a dignity which his ambition made him desirous of obtaining, whatever it might cost, and to which his vanity caused him to aspire with so much confidence.

From the perusal of this book, he acquired so strong an inclination for entering into cabals amongst the citizens of Paris, that he, from that period, ever exerted himself to the utmost, to procure the favour of the inhabitants of that great city : being persuaded, no doubt, that the function of archbishop of Paris could not be more properly executed, than in forming cabals, fomenting seditions, and exciting insurrections.

But I must not omit to mention here, that, at the time when the parliament's party first set up the barricadoes, he was so transported, with thus having an opportunity

* John-Louis de Fiesque, Count de la Vaigne, who was at the head of the conspiracy of Genoa ; and was drowned in the sea, on the 1st of January 1557, at the beginning of the action.

† Catiline was the leader in a conspiracy against the city of Rome, during the time in which that city was under the consular government. He was killed by Petreus, Mark Anthony's lieutenant, in the year of Rome 692.

portunity of indulging his fondness for cabals, that he went amongst the insurgents, habited in his pontifical robes, in order to create an opinion that, by bestowing his benedictions among them, he was desirous of appeasing the tumult. He then went, in great haste, to give Cardinal Mazarin his advice on the state of affairs, but his eminency paid very little attention to him, knowing, perhaps, that he had contributed to excite those disorders: for, as soon as the Coadjutor had retired, the Queen and the Cardinal turned all he had said into the utmost ridicule.

It was, then, this cool and slighting reception which the Cardinal gave to the Coadjutor's offers, on which the latter grounded his pretext for joining the party of the *Frondeurs*.

The Dukes de Brissac, * de Luines, † de Noirmoutier, ‡ and de Vitri, § entered also into the same party, and were constituted lieutenants-general under the Dukes of Elbeuf and Beaufort, and the Marshal de la Mothe, over whom, again, the Prince of Conti was appointed, in quality of generalissimo, as I have already mentioned in another place.

The Duke de Brissac joined that party in consequence of his alliance to the Coadjutor's family.

The Duke de Luines was influenced in his conduct, on this occasion, by a mistaken attachment to the tenets of Jansenism.

Noirmoutier had no other motive, than the hatred which he bore to the Prince of Condé, on occasion of some particular incident, which happened at the battle of Lens, and which he ever retained in mind.

And Vitri had been disgusted by the refusal of the court, to grant him the post which his father had formerly possessed.

Neither

* Louis de Cossé, Duke de Brissac. He died in 1661.

† Louis-Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luines.

‡ Louis de la Tremouille, Duke de Noirmoutier. He died in 1666.

§ Francis-Mary de l'Hôpital, Duke de Vitri.

Neither must I forget to observe here, that Laigues* joined the parliament's party, both as a friend to the Coadjutor, and, also, through his resentment against the Prince of Condé, from whom he had received some affront at play. Till now, Laigues had always been a person of small note and consideration.

La Boulaye,† who had entered into the party before Laigues, and who was still less known in the world, was induced to take this step by the court's refusal of his application for a reversionary grant of the post of Colonel of the Swiss guards, which the Duke de Bouillon la Marck,‡ his father-in-law, had enjoyed.

The Prince de Tarente,§ also, joined the same party, at the instigation of Madame de la Tremouille, || his mother, who was very urgent with him on the subject; as she was extremely fond of law, and had several suits depending at that time.

The Count de Maure, who had ever borne an excellent character, in an evil hour, became a *Frondeur*; for he thereby drew upon himself so much ridicule, that he was never afterwards able to get the better of it.

Tancrede¶ also followed the example of the rest, although he had no cause to be satisfied with the conduct of the parliament; that assembly having decided against him in his law-suit with Chabot. But, as he was a minor, the hopes of procuring a reversal of that decree, at some future time, induced him to join their party. But his death rendered all his designs, both with

* The Marquis de Laigues. It was reported of him, that he had secretly espoused the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, mother of the Duke de Luines.

† Maximilian Echalar, Marquis de la Boulaye.

‡ Henry-Robert de la Marck, Duke de Bouillon. He died in 1652.

§ Henry-Charles de la Tremouille, Prince de Tarente. He died in 1672.

|| Mary de la Tour, daughter of Henry de la Tour, Duke de Bouillon, Marshal of France.

¶ ——— Tancrede, the pretended son of Henry the second, Duke de Rohan. The parliament rejected his claim, by an edict issued in 1646.

with respect to the parliament and himself, very useless, and his brother-in-law acquired, thereby, an undisturbed possession of the immense inheritance of the house of Rohan.

On the death of Tancrede, some verses were published, on the subject of his dying in the service of the parliament; but I can recollect only two of them, the purport of which was, that "he had been a constant friend to the law; but that the law had been no friend to him."

Mata joined the party of the parliament, in which, however, he made no great figure. Indeed, I never heard he was employed in any other capacity than as superintendant of the posts; an office which had formerly been conferred on Nouveau, his brother-in-law.

Fosseuse, Dallui, Sevigni, and many others of the same clan, all offered their services to the parliament, nearly at the same time with Mata; but they did so little to distinguish themselves, that I have nothing further to say of them.

The Duke of Elbeuf had employed one Des Landes to negotiate his treaty with the parliament, and had received positive assurances from him, in the name of those gentlemen, that he should be invested with the chief command. This Des Landes was a counsellor of the parliament, and had been acquainted with the Duke in Flanders, whither they had both been formerly exiled.

Des Landes lay under great obligations to the Duke of Elbeuf, through whose interest he had obtained a decision in his favour in a law-suit, on the success of which a considerable fortune depended. It was, also, at the instigation of this man, whose credit with his brethren of the parliament was very great, he being the only one amongst them, who understood the art of war, that the Duke was chosen their general. It is certain, also, that, for the space of two days, he possessed an uncontrollable authority in Paris, and was the idol of the people, and the hope of the parliament: but, immediately upon the arrival of the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville, the great esteem

esteem which they had had for him vanished, insomuch that, from that time, it was scarcely known that he continued in the city, but from the burlesque songs which were daily made on him. It was this circumstance which induced the *Frondeurs* to send for the Prince of Conti and the Dutcheſs de Longueville to Paris; for those who had been impowered to negotiate with him, on behalf of the city, did not intend to send for them, till it was first seen what turn affairs might take. But, when they observed the great authority which the Duke of Elbeuf, who had tendered his services to the parliament during this period, had acquired, they judged that there was no more time to be lost, and that he might be, thereby, enabled to traverse their designs. The besiegers and the besieged found themselves equally disappointed in the measures which they had taken: for, as every one either is, or fears to be engaged in law-suits, there were few persons who did not, in some degree, connect themselves with the parliament. But, as promises cost nothing, no sooner was the war declared, than those who had been most lavish of their protestations of attachment to that party, finding it more for their interest to side with the court than with them, promoted the blockade themselves; and those who came to serve them, rendered themselves, in the end, their masters. This gave the parliament so great a disgust to the war, that, without concerning themselves much about the interests of those persons who joined their party, they began to think of accommodating matters with the court, and that the more readily, as, the three or four hundred thousand men, which they had flattered, themselves, they should have been able to have raised in Paris, being all artisans and tradesmen, not one of whom would stir from his house till he had received an advance of money, of which they [the parliament] were in great want, they found themselves reduced to the lowest ebb. Thus they could raise but very few troops, and those so bad, that they all took to flight, upon the first occasion of their being led to action. Nor was the court less deceived: the troops, which had been employed to form the blockade

ade of Paris, with the view of reducing the city by famine, served only to nourish it. Provisions were become so very scarce and dear there, that the officers, who supplied the city, made a considerable profit by that kind of traffic, which induced every one to follow the example.

Although each general, in his turn, caused provisions to be brought to the city, yet the people could never be persuaded that this was done by any but the Duke of Beaufort, and the Marquis de la Boulaye.

Finally, Paris put on so different an appearance from what it had been accustomed to wear, that the alteration, which had arisen in so short a time, would have appeared almost incredible. Nothing was talked of but the war, the price of grain, and the edict of 1617; by which all foreigners were excluded from a share in the government: affairs of state, alone, formed the conversation of every one, of whatever age or sex, and, the more ignorant they were, the more boldly did they express their opinions. But, with all this ridiculous eagerness for discoursing on serious and important matters, they possessed so little solidity in execution, that scarcely any one seemed to consider it as an act of rashness, thus to support a war against the royal authority.

It was on this account that the Prince of Condé observed, that this war could not be properly described, but in burlesque verse; seeing that both parties spent whole days in ridiculing each other.

Matters were not conducted with more dignity in the parliament. Whenever any proposition was made in that assembly, tending to the advantage of the court, those who opposed it, instead of attempting to reply, with better arguments than what had been used by their antagonists, never answered it, but with continual hootings and noises, nearly similar to those which the livery servants are accustomed to make at the gates of the *Cours*, and of the theatres: and this was properly what was called [*fronder*] to *frondize*.

But this term had still another origin, which was that of the kind of war in which the common people were accustomed to amuse themselves, in the suburbs, and in the

the ditches round the walls of the city; with slinging stones at each other, which was compared to the war of Paris, carried on by a number of citizens, who understood no other than that of the slingers. And the word *Fronde* began to come into general use, after Bachaumont,* on a certain occasion, joining in those customary hootings, had jocularly declared in the parliament, that he would *frondize* a proposal which had been made by his father the president Le Coigneux, the father of the last president of that name.

The King had been conducted to St. Germain's on the 6th of January of that year, † and intelligence was brought thither some time afterwards that the Prince of Conti and the Dutches de Longueville had arrived at Paris on the 10th, and that the Prince of Condé, who was suspected of having instigated his brother to take that step, was at one of his posts, which was no more than a quarter of a league distant from that city. This created a suspicion that he intended to repair thither himself also; which threw the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin into a terrible panic: but their apprehensions were quickly dissipated by his return to the court.

The Prince of Condé, whether with a view of removing the suspicions which might have been entertained of his conduct on the occasion, or whether through resentment of the opposition which was made to his design of reducing the city of Paris, spoke of his brother and sister in such terrible terms, that there needed not much penetration to discover that the whole was merely a trick, concerted amongst themselves. He became, at first, so furious, that nobody dared to approach him, and afterwards, all on a sudden, he returned to the Queen's apartment, with a certain air of freedom, as if he had never been offended; and, leading by the hand a little crooked wretch, whom he had brought with him, dressed in a laced coat, "There, Madam,"

* M. de Bachaumont, who made the voyage, which was written by the celebrated Chapelle.

† In 1649.

dam," said he, with repeated bursts of laughter, "is the Generalissimo of Paris." It is true, that the Prince of Conti did not fulfill the expectations which the people of Paris had formed of his abilities. The Dutchess, his sister, who was very assiduous in paying her court to him, and who had an absolute power over him, was well pleased that they had no better an opinion of him, that she might have the credit of every thing.

Marillac, * who governed her, and who would not suffer any one else to have the least credit with her, or even to appear to have any, did all in his power to prevent any intercourse from taking place between her and the Coadjutor, who, also, would gladly have obtained an influence over her, and was much vexed that he could not effect his purpose.

This estrangement of the Dutchess de Longueville insensibly created two parties in Paris.

The citizens had always entertained a distrust of her, on account of the Prince of Condé; moreover, they had not the best opinion whatever of her fidelity to their cause, and a still worse one of Marillac's, by whom she was governed; and they even knew that she could not be offended at their doubts of her sincerity, because she imagined that they would suppose her to be, in consequence, possessed of a greater share of subtlety and skill; insomuch that, through the fear of not being deemed capable of conforming herself to the dispositions of persons of small abilities, or of no great reputation in that respect, she scarcely ever dared to act without disguise at any time.

The Coadjutor, on his side, exclusive of the speciousness of his manner, piqued himself on a probity, which was proof against, and above every consideration of interest. In fact, he was not easily to be tempted: he never entered into any affairs, but such as promised to be of great advantage to him; and, as he had sense enough to perceive that he had nothing to expect from the

* This is the same person of whom frequent mention has already been made, under the title of the Duke de la Rochefoucault. He was father of the present Duke.

the present conjuncture, he found it not at all difficult, therefore, to effect his design of monopolizing the credit of every thing to himself.

The Duke of Beaufort, who had connected himself with the Coadjutor, was actuated by the same policy: he possessed, however, a much larger share of probity than his associate. For, when he had once discovered what his honour required of him, he would not, for the world, have failed of complying therewith: but, as his judgment was very contracted, he had the misfortune seldom to know what was his duty. No one need, after this, be surprized that such opposite conducts should produce the effect, which it might have been expected they must have, with respect to those two men.

Towards the end of the blockade of Paris, the Coadjutor deprived the Prince of Conti and the Dutchesse de Longueville of all their credit in the city, in like manner as they had formerly dispossessed the Duke of Elbeuf. But, unfortunately for him, he took it into his head to preach, publicly, in behalf of his party against that of Cardinal Mazarin, and against the person of that minister, in the notion that the people would be more inflamed against him, because he had heard that a similar mode of proceeding had, formerly, contributed greatly to the support of the *League*; without considering that the war of the *League* was a religious war, totally different from this. Thus, the effect, also, which it produced was quite different from what he had expected. His auditors were struck with such apparent horror at the idea of a preacher's daring, from the pulpit, to speak in commendation of a faction in a state, raised by subjects against their lawful sovereign, and to recommend dissention, as being just and reasonable, that, having perceived it himself, he feigned a sudden illness, as a pretext for concluding his sermon the sooner. On the other hand, the people's distrust of the Dutchesse de Longueville had risen to so great a height, that they conceived a notion that she had fled privately from Paris, and that Le Feron, the provost of the merchants at that time, whom they suspected equally with the Dutchesse, had advised her to take that step: which obliged Le Feron to take

refuge

refuge in a cloister, and the Dutchess de Longueville to shew herself in public, although she had been brought to bed only a short time before.

All these circumstances, joined with the disgust which the parliament had conceived, at seeing the sums, which they had raised for the payment of the troops, squandered in luxury and ostentation, gave them, at first, an inclination to put an end to the war. But the disaffected and the most zealous amongst the *Frondeurs*, who were totally averse to negotiating, compelled them to lay aside that design: and, perceiving that their power was not answerable to the hopes which they had entertained, they found themselves compelled to have recourse to the enemies of the state, and to apply, for succours, to the Spaniards, to whom Noirmoutier and De Laigues were sent on that business: and it was on this journey that the intimacy was formed between De Laigues and the Dutchess de Chevreuse. *

The court, upon the receipt of this intelligence, and observing, moreover, that Normandy, Provence, Guyenne and Rheims had already declared in favour of Paris, the confederacy of Provence being headed by the Count de Carce, † who possessed great credit in the province, and that of the parliament of Guyenne by De Sauvebeuf ‡ and De Lusignan: the court, I say, being informed of all these commotions, began to make proposals and offers to some individuals of the party, in order to detach them from the interests of the parliament. Marillac, influenced by a regard for his own interests alone, represented to the Dutchess de Longueville that, her credit daily diminishing, through the extreme distrust which was entertained of her, she would have still less in future; and as she was commonly guided by the judgment

* Mary de Rohan, daughter of the Duke de Montbazon, and widow of the Constable de Luines: her second husband was Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse.

† The Count de Carce, a descendant of the house of Gordes, the Kings, lieutenant in Provence.

‡ Sauvebeuf. He was a person of great reputation for bravery, who lived in the time of the celebrated Count de Bouteville, the father of the Marshal de Luxembourg.

judgment of others, rather than by her own, he easily persuaded her to listen to the offers and proposals of the court.

This negotiation did not long remain a secret, and no sooner was it discovered, than every one began to treat on his own separate account. Even those, who had entered the deepest into these transactions, were displeased that others should have followed their example; every one being desirous of concluding his own negotiation first, that he might obtain the better terms for himself. The court, therefore, proposed, publicly, that a conference should be held at Ruel, which they rightly judged must prove successful, because so many of the opposite party were disposed to an accommodation: and indeed, this proposal was made merely for form sake. The Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor would not give ear to any propositions for a treaty: in consequence of which they acquired great reputation, and continued to be the leaders of a very powerful party, of which they were, in a manner, the masters, for several years.

The Dutchess de Longueville sent word to her husband that, every one being engaged in negotiating, he ought to think of doing the same; and, afterwards she complained that he had accommodated matters with the court before her.

By the treaty, which was concluded between the court and the city of Paris, the government of Danvilliers was given to the Prince of Conti, and Marillac was appointed to command there under him, and even to receive all the emoluments. For, at that time, persons of the Prince of Conti's rank always gave up the profits of their governments to their lieutenants.

As soon as Marillac, who was so eager for the conclusion of his own and the Dutchess de Longueville negotiation, solely that he might the sooner obtain possession of what had been promised him by the court, had effected his purpose, he gave himself no further concern about the interests of the rest of his party. He found in his own all that he sought for, and he always preferred his own advantage before every other consideration. He even reconciled the Dutchess de

Longueville

Longueville to the court's total neglect of her in the above treaty, although she and the Prince of Conti had hastened the conclusion of that peace, on their side, with no other view than to make the more advantageous terms for themselves, and through fear lest they should lose their consequence, if they should delay matters too long; as they plainly perceived that their credit diminished daily more and more.

With respect to the Duke de Longueville, excepting the reversion of his governments which was granted to him for his children, and which was never refused to any person at that time, he obtained nothing from the court. It was for this reason that he so long refused to yield to any accommodation, unless the government of Pont-de-l'Arche was given him, with which demand the court would not comply; because, being but too sensible of the great credit he had acquired in Normandy, they were very careful not to augment it, by giving him this place. But the Prince of Condé, perceiving this difficulty, assured the Duke de Longueville that he would remove it, and that his demand should be granted; that, rather than the peace should be obstructed, he would even make himself responsible for the performance of this promise, although without giving himself much concern whether he should be able to fulfill his engagement: for he considered the breaking his word as a matter of very little consequence.

The Coadjutor, very humanely, opposed the peace to the utmost of his power, although the Prince of Conti expressed so strong a desire for its completion.

The Duke of Beaufort, also, who was equally as assiduous as the Coadjutor in his endeavours to prevent its taking place, thought he had discovered an infallible method to effect his purpose, which he proposed to M. de Bellievre for his opinion, asking him whether, if he should give a box on the ear to the Duke of Elbeuf, it might not cause an alteration in the face of affairs: to which M. de Bellievre replied, with a seriousness more becoming his gravity, than the question, that he did not think that it would alter any thing but

but the face of the Duke of Elbeuf. This affair highly diverted, and caused much laughter amongst those who were present at the conversation, and only served to encrease the number of stories which were related of each other, by the different parties, and particularly of the Duke of Beaufort.

Thus ended the first war of Paris, in which city the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville were reviled in the most outrageous manner : which inspired them with such a strong aversion, both to the *Fronde* and to the parliament, as they could never afterwards divest themselves of : and it even happened that the Prince of Marillac was, more than once, menaced by some of the *Frondeurs*, in a manner seldom experienced by persons of his rank.

After it had been agreed, by the majority of the party, that, for the sake of propriety, and to satisfy the people, it would be necessary to send a person to the court, to make a formal requisition of the banishment of Cardinal Mazarin out of the kingdom, as no one would take upon himself this commission, which was, nevertheless, a mere farce only, intended to delude the people, the Count de Maure accepted of it, imagining that they were in earnest in the demand : but, by this action, he filled up the measure of that ridicule which he had already drawn upon himself.

This peace being thus concluded, every one began to reflect that enough had been done by the parliament, during the war, to irritate the Cardinal, but not enough to shelter themselves from his resentment : and, hence, the conduct of those gentlemen was greatly blamed, in making the peace just at that juncture, and in not concluding it either at an earlier or a later period, than that which they had fixed on for its accomplishment. For, it is certain that, if they had properly availed themselves of the advantage, which the possession of so many important posts, in the neighbourhood of Paris, at one time gave them, they might have obtained much more favourable terms for themselves : or, they ought, at least, to have waited some time, seeing that the city was no longer in any danger of being reduced

duced to famine ; that several other provinces were on the point of joining those which had already declared in their favour, and, finally, that the court, being forced, by the season, to withdraw their troops, in order to send them to the frontiers, to act against the Spaniards, must, of necessity, have treated with them (the parliament) on their own conditions ; whereas, in consequence of their having so badly timed the business, every thing turned out in a quite contrary manner. With respect to this peace, with which neither of the parties, nor any one of the individuals, of whom they were composed, was satisfied, another observation may be made ; which is that, if nothing is more flattering and seductive, than the beginnings of such sorts of intrigues, to those who enter into them, it must be acknowledged, also, that nothing is so proper to remove the error as their conclusions, by exhibiting the reverse of every thing which those persons had, at first, proposed to themselves. The war of Paris being now at an end, the Dutchess went to court ; fully persuaded that, the peace having been her work, alone, she should meet with a most gracious reception : but she found on the contrary, that nothing was remembered there, but the war which she had raised and maintained.

The Queen, therefore, received her with much coolness, and Cardinal Mazarin paid her a visit, for the sole purpose of thanking her, in a public manner, for having been, on all occasions, more favourable to him than all the others, who, like her, had entered into an opposition to his party ; rightly imagining that he should, by this means, discredit her with her own. Every one was of the same opinion, when they heard him make her such a compliment.

The Prince of Condé neither went to pay her a visit nor to present her at court, as it was believed he had promised, excusing himself on account of illness : which made the Dutchess de Longueville suspect that it was only a pretext. She complained so much of his conduct in this respect, that he was obliged, at length, to wait on her ; his mouth and cheeks being so much swelled, that it was but too visible that his illness was not feigned.

The Prince of Condé, since the war of Paris, perceiving that the Dutcheſs de Longueville governed the Prince of Conti, that ſhe had an influence over the Duke, her huſband, and that ſhe was, in a manner, at the head of a numerous party, judged that ſhe might be ſerviceable to him, and with the ſame facility, re-accommodated matters with that Princeſs, for whom he ever afterwards appeared to entertain a great eſteem. He admitted her into the moſt important affairs, and, from this time, they conſtantly acted in concert.

The Prince of Condé was charmed with the hatred which the Pariſians bore to him, and with having been able to perſuade ſome of them, who had come to St. Germain, that his ſole diet was ears of the citizens of Paris. He piqued himſelf ſo much on his contempt for the city of Paris that he determined to go thither alone, before the court.

This hatred, which he ſo much derided, nevertheleſs embarrassed him: in order that he might be ſafe in the city, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, underhand, that he had had a diſagreement with the Cardinal, and, before he went thither, propoſed to hold conferences with the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor, both of whom fell into the ſnare. He, accordingly, came to Paris, and he had interviews with thoſe perſons, as he had propoſed: but no ſooner had he departed from the city, than all further talk was dropt, both of his reconciliation with the *Frondeurs*, and of his quarrel with the Cardinal.

The parliament, whom that Prince would have ruined, and who had declared themſelves ſo openly, his enemies, debaſed themſelves ſo much, on the preſent occaſion, as to ſend a deputation, to compliment him on his arrival: which circumſtance gave birth to a number of publications, cenſuring them for this reſolution, as it had not been carried unanimouſly: but, as it was decided by a plurality of voices, the leſſer number was neceſſarily obliged to yield to the greater.

In a ſhort time afterwards, the Dutcheſs de Chevreuſe returned to France, with equal diſpatch and ſecrecy, and without communicating her intention to the court. Immediately upon her arrival, Cardinal Mazarin, imagining that ſhe might be ſerviceable to him, in the preſent juncture,

junction, acquainted her that the Queen was desirous that she should come to court, where she met with a very gracious reception, and was even presented with a sum of money.

She had been absent from the kingdom for the space of between fourteen and fifteen years, save two or three months only, at the commencement of the regency, in consequence of which, she was become, in a manner, a stranger in France: but such was her genius and skill in political intrigues that, in a very short time after her return, she had established a great reputation, and had acquired a very considerable number of powerful friends, all of whom placed an unlimited confidence in her judgment and conduct.

The Prince of Condé thought that his honour required, that he should bring back the King and Queen to Paris, and the Cardinal, also, judged that it was for the interest of the regency that they should return to the city. But there still existed a certain cabal amongst the *Frondeurs*, who possessed an absolute credit with the people and with the *Fronde*. It was necessary therefore, in order to insure the success of the design, first to enter into a negotiation with this cabal.

M. Servien was accordingly sent, previously to Paris, and he applied himself first to the Duke of Beaufort, being persuaded, from the character which had been given him of that nobleman, that it would be no difficult matter to obtain from him whatever he should ask. But, contrary to his expectation, the Duke, nevertheless, resisted for some time: however at length, he suffered himself to be overcome, and consented to every thing that was required of him; which was, simply, that he should attempt nothing further against the Cardinal, and that he should desist from all opposition, in future, to the measures of the court, in return for all which docility, no other promise was made him, than that he should be graciously received by the King and the Queen. On this occasion, it was observed that the Coadjutor, who regulated the Duke of Beaufort, in the same manner as a watch is regulated, had wound him up for two hours only, because he had resisted for no longer a time.

As for the Coadjutor, he would listen to no proposals; but, perceiving that it would scarcely be possible for him to prevent the return of the court to Paris, he contented himself with intimating, that he should not make any opposition to it. The King and the Queen, accordingly returned to Paris on the 18th of August 1649. The peace of Paris being thus concluded, it was now become necessary to consider on the means of effecting that of the provinces. The affairs of Rouen had been accommodated at the same time with those of Paris: and the Duke de Longueville had obtained for the parliament of that province, the abolishment of the half-yearly sittings, to which they had been restricted a few years before.

Cardinal Mazarin was desirous that the parliament of Provence should obtain better conditions than the governor, although the latter had supported the interests of the court. His reason for this was in order to disgust the governor to that degree, as to force him to yield him up his government, which lay on the rout to Italy; and he also sought, thereby, to do a pleasure to the parliament, whom he wished to render favourable to him, when he should have obtained the government of that province: but the Prince of Condé, who interested himself in behalf of the Count d'Alais,* who was his first cousin, obliged the Cardinal to act in the affair, in a manner directly contrary to what he had intended.

In Guyenne it happened quite otherwise. The Cardinal was inclined to favour the Duke d'Epemon,† who was governor of the province, with the view of promoting a match between one of his nieces and the Duke de Candale:‡ but the Prince of Condé once more frustrated his eminency's designs, and the negotiation of the parliament was concluded upon better terms than that of the governor.

The Cardinal, enraged to find himself thus held in subjection, and thwarted on every occasion by the Prince of Condé, conceived a hatred to him, little short of that which

* Dangoulême, Count d'Alais, the governor of Provence.

† Bernard de Nogaret, Duke d'Epemon.

‡ Louis-Charles-Gaston de Nogaret, Duke de Candale. He died in 1658.

which the Prince's enemies bore to his Highness, and of that, which that minister entertained against those who constantly opposed all his measures.

A short time after the conclusion of the peace of Paris, the Duke de Vendôme* proposed to Cardinal Mazarin the marriage of his son, the Duke de Mercœur,† to one of his eminency's nieces, on condition that he should give him the admiralship. But the Duke of Beaufort made so strong an opposition to this marriage, fearing lest it should destroy his credit with the people, that he caused the design to be instantly laid aside; he being so powerful that it was deemed dangerous to offend him. But, in the month of September, whether the Duke of Beaufort had consented to the marriage, or whether his concurrence was now judged less necessary than before, on account of the daily decrease of the credit of the *Frondeurs*, this affair was again brought upon the carpet: and it was even carried so far, that application was made for the marriage license.

The last person who held the admiralship was the Duke de Brezé, ‡ brother-in-law of the Prince of Condé, who had also solicited that post, but had been refused it: however, he had been so very urgent in his demand, that, instead of that post, the court gave him the government of Stenai, and even specified that it was in lieu of the admiralship. 'Tis true that the Prince of Condé, perceiving his power to be boundless, still retained his pretensions to that office, being constantly of opinion that the court would not dare to refuse him any thing, whatever, which he should demand with earnestness.

This post had continued vacant ever since the death of the Duke de Brezé. And, when the Prince of Condé learnt that it was to be given to the Duke de Mercœur, he was so much enraged, that he determined, at all events,

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* César, Duke de Vendôme, a natural son of Henry IV. and grandfather of the present Messis. de Vendôme. He died in 1665.

† Louis, Duke de Mercœur, afterwards Cardinal de Vendôme, governor of Provence. He was the father of the present Duke de Vendôme, and the grand prior of France. He died in 1669.

‡ Urban Maillé, Duke de Brezé, high admiral, and marshal of France. He died in 1650.

to prevent it: and the pretext which he made use of for quarrelling with the Cardinal on the occasion, was his not having given the government of Pont-de-l'Arche to the Duke de Longueville, although, till then, he had not, in the least, concerned himself about that affair.

The Cardinal replied to this complaint, that he could not see with what reason his Highness could charge him with having entered into such an engagement with the Duke de Longueville, seeing that the Queen had never given him any orders on the subject. Upon receiving this answer, the Prince of Condé sent him a message, acquainting him, in plain terms, that, being weary of bearing the public hatred on his account, he was determined that he should retire from the court, and that he should depart the kingdom.

All France tendered itself to the Prince of Condé, excepting the Dukes de Vendôme and d'Epéron. The President de Bellièvre * made him proffers of the services of the whole *Fronde*. All the *Frondeurs* waited on him separately; and 'tis said that he promised each of them to join with their party, to procure the banishment of the Cardinal, whom he affected to turn into ridicule in all cases: and, by way of reproaching him with his cowardice, he, one day, in quitting the Queen's presence, said to him, with a tone and gesture of the utmost derision, "Adieu, Mars!" together with many other injurious expressions, which he used to him on every occasion.

The Cardinal finding himself deserted almost by every one of his party, hated by the whole kingdom, and plainly foreseeing that his ruin was inevitable, unless he accommodated matters with the Prince of Condé, began a negotiation for that purpose.

The Dutches de Longueville, who mortally hated the *Fronde*, ever since the war of Paris, gladly undertook to mediate this accommodation, and it has even been asserted that Marsillac obtained a sum of money on the occasion. The Duke de Rohan-Chabot was the person by whom this negotiation was completed, and the terms of

* Pomponne de Bellièvre, first President of the parliament of Paris. He died in 1657.

of it were, that the government of Pont-de-l'Arche should be given to the Duke de Longueville; that the marriage of the Cardinal's niece with the Duke de Mercœur should be totally laid aside; that neither of the Cardinal's nieces should marry without the consent of the Prince of Condé; that the admiralship should remain vacant; that no post, government, or benefice of value should be given away without his concurrence, and that no promotions whatever should be made in the army, not even amongst the lowest classes of officers, till he had first approved of the appointments. Two copies were made of this treaty, which were signed by the Queen, the Prince of Condé, and Cardinal Mazarin; one of which copies was delivered to his Highness, and the other remained in the hands of the Cardinal.

When this treaty was nearly compleated, the Prince of Condé, that he might have a pretext for breaking off all connection with the *Frondeurs*, sent for the President de Bellièvre, and told him that he wished to be satisfied in one particular, respecting that party, which was whether, in case, at any time, a disagreement should arise between him and the Duke of Orleans, he might depend on the *Frondeurs* joining with him. To this the President replied, that they were so nearly related, that he could not suppose such an event possible. But, the Prince of Condé insisting on an explicit answer, M. de Bellièvre said that he could not decide upon the question himself, but that he would go and consult the *Frondeurs* on the subject, and would return immediately to his Highness, with their determination.

The *Frondeurs*, after duly deliberating on the matter, knowing, moreover, the propensity of the Prince of Condé to adjust his differences with the Cardinal whenever he could, in the smallest degree, advantage himself thereby, and still bearing in mind how often he had deceived them; from all these considerations, I say, they were induced to believe that this proposition was made with the sole view of embroiling them with the Duke of Orleans, with whom they were upon very good terms. They determined, therefore, not to sacrifice him to the Prince of Condé, but only to return his High-

ness.

ness an answer, in the mildest, and, at the same time, the most undecisive terms possible; and which was that all the *Frondeurs* were of the same opinion with M. de Bellièvre; that they could not imagine, any more than him, that two Princes of the same family, so nearly related, and who, besides, were both so well intentioned towards the state, could ever become foes to each other; and that, for their parts, they would ever contribute all in their power, to promote that good understanding between them, so necessary to the welfare of the state. The Prince of Condé appeared to be so much offended with this answer, that, totally disregarding every other consideration but that of his resentment, he accommodated his difference with Cardinal Mazarin in the most public manner; declaring that he could put no confidence in persons who had given him plainly enough to understand, that they would not, on any occasion, unite with him against the Duke of Orleans: and thus, without any further ceremony, he broke through all connection with them.

When it was seen that the Prince of Condé sacrificed every thing to Cardinal Mazarin, after having so grossly offended him, every one, even the most unenlightened, plainly perceived that his Highness's ruin was inevitable. He was the only person who had any doubt of it, although, from the double copy of the treaty, of which I have just now spoken, and which had remained a secret between himself, the Queen, and the Cardinal, he ought to have known better than any one, to what degree he had offended that minister.

Soon after the reconciliation of the Prince of Condé with the Cardinal, the Queen granted the *Tabouret* * to the Countess de Fleix, daughter of Madame de Sennecey, one of her [*Dames d'Honneur*] ladies of honour: the Prince of Conti, thereupon, demanded the same privilege for the Princess de Marillac, † as did the Duke of Orleans

* The word, *Tabouret*, literally signifies a *low stool* or *seat*, and is here meant to express a privilege to sit in the royal presence.

† Andrée de Vivonne, [*Dame*] Lady of the Manor of Chataigneraie, Princess de Marillac, and afterwards Dutchesse de la Rochefoucault. She died in 1670.

Orleans for Madame de Pons, * afterwards Dutcheſs de Richelieu. And, as, that time, every incident of a public kind cauſed an emotion in the ſtate, theſe new pretenſions were conſidered of ſuch conſequence, as to occaſion a general aſſembly of the nobility to be called, in order to prevent their taking place: which meaſure the Cardinal ſecretly promoted, imagining that the aſſembly would certainly determine againſt the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Conti. But every thing turned out quite otherwiſe: for, no ſooner were they aſſembled, than, forgetting the ſubject on which they had met, they began to *frondize* againſt the Cardinal: which circumſtance induced him to exert himſelf ſtill more, to procure their diſſolution, than he had before done, to cauſe them to be convoked, and the affair of the *Tabourêts* was ſuffered to drop.

After theſe aſſemblies had been diſſolved, the kingdom appeared to be in a kind of calm, with which few perſons were ſatiſfied: and, by inſenſible degrees, all that hatred, which the people had entertained againſt the Cardinal, was transferred to the Prince of Condé and his family, to which they themſelves contributed, more than all their enemies. For they had, at laſt, diſcovered, that it was both unneceſſary and ridiculous for them to endeavour to obtain the affections of the people. And 'tis certain that, at that time, the Prince of Condé was more ambitious of gaining battles than of winning hearts.

Both in public and private life, their manners were ſo diſguſting, that it was impoſſible to hold any communication with them. They, on every occaſion, affected ſuch contemptuous geſtures, and uſed ſuch offensive language, as rendered them inſupportable to every one. In the viſits which were paid them, they expreſſed, by their behaviour, ſo much diſregard and contempt for the company, that it was plain to be ſeen that they took every method to get rid of them. Of whatever quality the perſons were, who, at any time, waited on the Prince of

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Condé,

* Anne Pouffart de Fort du Vigean, younger ſiſter of the Mademoiſelle du Vigean, ſo much celebrated for her beauty, and widow of Francis-Alexander d'Albert, [*Sire*] Lord of the Manor of Pons. She afterwards married the Duke de Richelieu.

Condé, they were obliged to remain a very considerable time in the anti-chamber, before they could obtain admission to him, and he, very frequently, after having detained them thus long, would dismiss them, without permitting any one to see him. When offended, they set no bounds to their resentment, and they were totally incapable of gratitude for the services which were rendered them. And thus they were equally hated by the court, the *Fronde*, and the people, and no one could hold any commerce with them. The whole kingdom impatiently brooked their bad conduct, and especially their pride, which was excessive.

But if the people's hatred to them was great, their fear was still greater. To form a proper idea of it, a person must have been witness to it. All would gladly have been freed from them, but no one had courage enough to attempt the means.

Moreover, the chiefs of the *Fronde*, whom neither persecution nor the blockade had been able to depress, sunk of themselves, when no longer opposed: which circumstance arose as much from the King's being present in the city, as from the neglect into which they had fallen with the people. Thus, judging that some new scheme must be adopted, to revive their zeal, they determined to send the Marquis de la Boulaye, to spread a report through the city, that a design had been formed to assassinate the Duke of Beaufort, after which he was to endeavour to excite the people to take arms. But this produced not the least tumult amongst the people: and the only consequence, with which it was attended, was an order from the court, for seizing the person of La Boulaye, who was obliged to conceal himself, to avoid imprisonment; and perceiving that this design had failed, they determined to try the success of another.

Joli, a creature of the Coadjutor's, who was one of the syndics, nominated by the proprietors of the fund of the Hotel de Ville, complained to the parliament that an attempt had been made to assassinate him; that he was much wounded, and that this had happened in consequence, solely, of the zeal which he had manifested in the service of the proprietors, whom the court
had

had endeavoured to deprive of the interest due to them from the fund. As it was believed that what he asserted was not true, those of the parliament, who espoused the party of the court, prevailed on the assembly to order that one of their members should be deputed, to examine into the state of his wounds; a person was accordingly sent, but Joli declared, that his wounds had been already dressed, and constantly persisted in his refusal to shew them to him; which discovered the falsity of the whole affair.

This incident was succeeded by another, of still greater importance, and which was attended with far more material consequences. The Prince of Condé, going to the Palais Royal, as he was accustomed to do every evening, was acquainted by the Cardinal that he had received intelligence, that the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor had stationed some persons in the Place Dauphine, who were to assassinate his Highness, on his return to the Hotel de Condé. M. Servine, also, soon afterwards, brought the Prince the same information, pretending not to know that the Cardinal had already made him acquainted with the matter. Both of them advised the Prince to send his coach back with some person in it, in order to discover whether the intelligence was true, and that, in the mean time, he should continue at the Palais Royal, to wait the event. One of the footmen of M. de Duras was, therefore, put into the coach, and it has been asserted that, in the Place Dauphine, a shot was fired into the carriage, which killed him on the spot.

The *Frondeurs* have always maintained that he received no hurt whatever, and that care had been taken to secrete him. As the real state of this transaction was never properly brought to light, and as the matter has always appeared very doubtful, I shall simply relate the various reports which were spread at the time, without pretending to give my own opinion on the subject; and shall leave every one the liberty of forming his own judgment, according as the circumstances shall appear to him. The most current opinion was, at the time, that the Prince of Condé had schemed this pretended
assassination.

assassination, with the view of, thereby, compelling the leaders of the *Frondeurs* to quit Paris, and of getting the city into his own hands. What chiefly induced a belief that the *Frondeurs* were not concerned in forming this design was, that six men on horseback had stationed themselves in the Place Dauphine, at so early an hour as between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and, when they were questioned for what purpose they came there, they replied that the Duke of Beaufort had sent them. And, indeed, it is pretty plain that they were desirous of being taken notice of; for, otherwise, there was no necessity whatever for their coming thither so early, to kill the Prince of Condé, who never returned home from the Palais Royal till two hours after midnight.

On the other hand, what rendered the *Frondeurs* suspected on this occasion was, that, although the Duke of Beaufort was deemed incapable of countenancing an assassination of this nature, yet the same opinion was not entertained of the Coadjutor, who did not acquaint the Duke with all his designs; and also, that it was seen that the party had of late set on foot several schemes, such as those of Joli and La Boulaye: and the latter was even accused of firing the shot, by which the footman of de Duras was killed. It did not seem probable that the Cardinal should have sought to assassinate the Prince of Condé, as he was the person who gave him the first intelligence of the design: besides, that he was of a very different disposition from that of which some of his countrymen are suspected, with regard either to revenge, or to deeds of murder or poisoning. Another report, and which was most generally credited in the end, was that the Cardinal had forged this plot, with the view of rendering his Highness irreconcilable with the *Frondeurs*, and of working his ruin with the greater facility, which he afterwards effected.

The Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor waited on the Prince of Condé, to compliment him on his escape from the pretended attempt to assassinate him, without seeming to know that they were accused of being

ing parties in the design. But, as soon as he heard that they were coming up stairs, he hastily quitted the company, and retired into his closet : and, after having made them wait a considerable time, he sent them a message, that he could not admit them to an audience. After this he laid a public complaint against them before the parliament. The *Frondeurs*, not a little embarrassed to find themselves thus closely pushed, and perceiving, moreover, that their affairs were in a very unfavourable situation at court, employed several persons to negotiate with the Prince of Condé, but he returned the most haughty answers, to all the applications which were made to him, purporting that he was absolutely determined that they should retire from Paris.

The *Frondeurs* represented to him that it would be derogatory to his dignity, to persist in accusing them of having hired persons to assassinate him, as they could, with ease, prove their innocence, and that la Boulaye was at a considerable distance from the Place Dauphine, at the time when the affair happened. The Prince of Condé, with his customary haughtiness, replied only, that such eclairsissements would be of no signification, as, whether innocent or culpable, he was resolved that they should depart the city, and that he thought them very impertinent thus to dispute his commands. He was delighted with the idea that the Queen had not been able to compel them to retire from Paris, although they were upon bad terms with her, and that they should now be necessitated to take that step, in consequence of their disagreement with him.

They also sent Noirmoutier and Fosseuse to the princess Dowager of Condé, to whom those gentlemen had the honour to be related, in hopes that this consideration might influence her in their favour. But they found themselves mistaken, and she, in the same tone, answered that the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor were very insolent, thus to persist in continuing in the city, when it was her son's pleasure that they should retire from it. Those gentlemen represented to her, that none but the King had the power to banish from the city, persons un-convicted of any crime, particularly
persons

persons of the character and quality of those in question, and, finally, that even the Queen herself had permitted them to remain there. To this she replied, in a violent rage, that there was a difference between the Prince of Condé and the Mazarins, and that, however other Princes of the blood might have suffered their commands to be disputed, her son was not of that disposition.

The party sent another message to the Prince of Condé, acquainting him that they should make no scruple to obey his commands, but that their honour required that they should first justify themselves from the accusation which was brought against them. But to this they received no answer, and the Prince, giving a loose to his resentment, prosecuted the affair in the parliament, against the *Frondeurs*, with the most unremitting ardour.

The Dutches de Longueville and Marillac rejoiced in the embarrassment to which the *Frondeurs* were now reduced : but the Duke de Longueville's sentiments on the matters were widely different, and he exerted all his endeavours, to prevail on the Prince of Condé to drop all further prosecution of the affair ; because that the Coadjutor had been very assiduous in cultivating his favour, ever since the time that the Prince of Condé broke through all his connections with that party, to re-unite himself with the court. And what chiefly induced the Duke to this conduct was, the great disagreement which subsisted between him and his wife, and which the Coadjutor did not attempt to accommodate : but, although he entertained a violent hatred to her, she, nevertheless, possessed no small influence over him.

The Dutches de Chevreuse had, since her return to France, entered into a very strict commerce and connection with the *Frondeurs* ; and that because those who are fond of cabals naturally seek each other. It was through the mean of de Laigues and Noirmoutier, with whom she became acquainted in Flanders, and also on occasion of the Coadjutor's attachment to her daughter, that she formed these connections. She, therefore, began

gan to consider seriously of the measures proper to be taken, for the execution of a design, which she had projected since her return, to reconcile the *Frondeurs* with the court against the Prince of Condé, for whom, she plainly perceived, Cardinal Mazarin could never entertain a friendship. Although the Prince of Condé's power was considerable, yet it was not so much so as most people conjectured. It is very certain that imagination must have had a great share in rendering him thus formidable, and that those who feared him to such a degree, must have been possessed with uncommon weakness and ignorance.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse, who had been so long absent in Flanders, and who was not prepossessed with this universal belief and dread of his power, which those who had continued in the kingdom entertained, judged more rationally of the matter. It was this, also, which caused her to act against him with the greater resolution, and to propose his imprisonment. After some previous steps had been taken by this lady, the Coadjutor came, in disguise, to confer with Cardinal Mazarin. The Prince of Condé, having been made acquainted with this circumstance, took notice of it to the Cardinal, who ridiculed, in the strongest manner, the Coadjutor and his cavalier's habit, his white feathers, and his crooked legs; adding that, if he should come to him a second time, so disguised, he would send his Highness word, that he might conceal himself in such a manner, as to get a sight of him, and that this would divert him. By this means he so effectually deceived the Prince, that his Highness entertained not the least suspicion whatever of the truth, and still continued his criminal process against the *Frondeurs*, without any apprehension of the design which was forming against him.

But that which most embarrassed the execution of this design was, the absolute necessity of obtaining the consent of the Duke of Orleans thereto, in quality of lieutenant-general of the regency, : and the Duke was

entirely

entirely guided by the Abbé de la Riviere, * who appeared to be as much dependent on the Prince of Condé, as if he had been his domestic, and that for the reasons which I shall here relate.

Cardinal Mazarin having promised la Riviere to procure him a Cardinal's hat, although he was not at all inclined to make good his promise, he contrived matters so that the Prince of Condé should demand the hat for the Prince of Conti. The Cardinal imagined, moreover, that this would occasion a great breach between the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé: but this ill-judged stroke of policy produced a quite contrary effect, to what his eminency had expected from it.

The Prince of Condé acquainted la Riviere, that this design had been suggested to him by the Cardinal, who made him (the Abbé) his dupe; that he did not at all concern himself about obtaining the hat for his brother, and that he would either dispute it or yield it to him, according as the Duke of Orleans should conduct himself towards him (the Prince:) and, as this would have been a very considerable preferment for la Riviere, he, from that time, constantly disposed his master, blindly to follow the sentiments and the interests of the Prince of Condé

It was necessary, therefore, to the execution of the design, which had been projected against the Prince, that the influence of the favourite should be totally destroyed; which seemed impossible to be effected, on account of the length of time, during which his reputation with the Duke had been established, and that, from the above period, nothing was done but by his advice.

The Dutches de Chevreuse, however, was not discouraged by all these difficulties. The first step she took was to incite Madame † to speak against the Abbé, whom she did not like. As great as the Cardinal's credit

* Louis Barbier, Abbé de la Riviere, the chief favourite of the Duke of Orleans: some time before his death, he was created Bishop and Duke of Langres.

† Margaret de Lorraine, Dutches of Orleans, sister of the Grand-Duke, Charles de Lorraine. She died in 1672.

credit was, he dared not intermeddle in the affair, and I am even doubtful whether, with all the assiduity which each one exerted, they would have been able to have succeeded, but for the Prince of Condé himself, who, according to his usual custom, prejudiced his affairs more than his enemies had done.

The Duke de Richelieu * conceived a passion for Madame de Pons, although she was rather ugly in her person and far from being young. She was so well instructed by the family of Condé, to whom she communicated the matter, in confidence, that she prevailed on the Duke to marry her. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated at Trie, and, immediately afterwards, proper persons were dispatched to seize upon Havre, in the name of the Duke de Richelieu: for the Dutchess d'Aiguillon † still kept possession of that place in quality of guardian to her nephew.

This event occasioned a great disturbance at court, but much less on account of the marriage, than on account of the seizure of Havre, the one being of much greater importance than the other. On the receipt of this intelligence, the court affected to propagate a report, that the Duke de Longueville had now made himself master of the whole province of Normandy; that he intended to render himself independent there; and that he had long conceived that design, although it had never once entered his mind. To this was added, that the Prince of Condé had taken up his quarters in Burgundy, and that there were few parts of the kingdom in which he had not an influence, and of which he might not render himself master.

Although the Duke of Orleans suffered himself to be led by others, in a very great degree, yet he, nevertheless, possessed a considerable share of penetration: thus he readily conceived that, if the whole of these reports was not true, yet some of them might be sufficiently founded, to prejudice his interests. The *Frondeurs* afterwards discovered to him that what emboldened the Prince

* Armand Wignerod, Duke de Richelieu.

† Mary de Wignerod, Dutchess d'Aiguillon. She died in 1675.

Prince of Condé so much in his undertakings was, a firm persuasion that La Riviere would engage him (the Duke) to concur in all his measures: and, perceiving that this discourse began to disgust him against his favourite, they continued to represent the Abbé's conduct in such a light, that they, at length, effected his ruin. They afterwards shewed the Duke of Orleans a copy of the last treaty between the court and the Prince of Condé, who had, in a manner, forced Cardinal Mazarin to subscribe his consent to it, and which was totally destructive of the privileges and authority annexed to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom: which confirmed the Duke in his determination to consent to the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé.

The Dutcheß d'Aiguillon was the first person who had the courage to propose this measure, and the Coadjutor, afterwards, negotiated the affair with the Dutcheß de Chevreuse, without admitting the first mentioned lady to have any share whatever in it.

The Queen and Cardinal Mazarin constantly manifested a strong sense of the pretended attempt on the Prince of Condé's life, and a great readiness to assist him in obtaining justice: but the Duke of Orleans, far from shewing the same disposition, and from giving his attendance at the Palais, as he had at first done, having one day gone up the steps as far as the Holy Chapel, pretended to be taken suddenly ill, and returned home. On the next day he sent a message to the parliament, acquainting them that he could no longer attend their assemblies, on account of his illness. The Prince of Condé, perceiving this alteration, reproached la Riviere on the subject, who made the best excuses he could, but without confessing that he had lost all influence with his master.

The Prince of Condé, imagining that he had rendered Cardinal Mazarin totally contemptible, was desirous of exposing the Queen, also, to ridicule, from an opinion that every one would, in consequence, abandon her; and, with this view, he persuaded the Marquis de Jarzay, that her Majesty entertained a particular regard for him, that he ought to pursue his good fortune, and, in

short,

short, he said so much to him on the subject, that he prevailed on him to make a declaration of love to that Princess, in a letter which, in concert with Madame de Beauvais, he contrived to lay upon the Queen's toilet. It is certain that no one, but a man so prepossessed with a good opinion of his person and accomplishments, and so desirous of making his court to the Prince of Condé, could have been capable of such an action, and in which his vanity, and his blind confidence in the Prince, could, alone, have made him hope for success: for, in other respects, he was a man of sense and merit. But it is plain that the Prince of Condé availed himself, on this occasion, of Jarzay's inconsiderate attachment to him, in order to sacrifice him to his interests, and that the infatuation of Jarzay prevented his discovering the design and artifice of the Prince of Condé.

When the Queen had read Jarzay's letter, she concluded that no one but himself was concerned in this extravagant action, and that it would be more proper to dismiss him from the court on some other pretext, than to suffer this affair to occasion any disturbance. But, when she learnt that the whole was a contrivance of the Prince of Condé's, and that he made a jest of the affair on all occasions, even to converting it into a subject of table-talk in his debauches, she became so enraged, that she gave orders that Jarzay should be publicly prohibited from ever appearing in her presence in future.

The Prince of Condé, with that haughtiness of which he never could abate a tittle with any one whatsoever, came to Cardinal Mazarin, and told him that he was absolutely determined that the Queen should admit Jarzay to see her that very day. It was in vain that the Cardinal represented to him that, after receiving such an insult, the woman of the lowest rank whatever would never be prevailed on to act in that manner: his Highness replied only, according to his usual custom at that time, that it must be so nevertheless, seeing that it was his pleasure. The Queen was, therefore, compelled to receive Jarzay, but the Prince's audacity only served to hasten his imprisonment; the court having been more irritated by this circumstance, than by all that his Highness had done or attempted before that time.

The

The Prince of Condé, continuing thus, as usual, to affront the Queen, to insult Cardinal Mazarin, and to carry matters to the last extremities against the *Frondeurs*, seemed to live, nevertheless, in as much security, as if his conduct had not been, in the least, calculated to create himself enemies, and as if he had had nothing to fear. From hence it is very apparent, that most great Princes, and even those who, in the sequel of their lives, exhibit the strongest marks of moderation and wisdom in their conduct, are as much infatuated with the notion of their being feared, as beautiful women, or those who fancy themselves such, are self-persuaded of the universal power of their charms, and that it is as difficult to undeceive the one as the other.

What ought still more to have alarmed the Prince of Condé was, that, in the informations against those who were accused of being concerned in the attempt to assassinate him, the name of that worthy man Broussel was included: and, as his character set him above even the suspicion of such a design, it was easy to perceive, that this had been done with no other view, than to render his Highness compleatly odious to the people, who still adored that old man.

All these circumstances created such apprehensions in the minds of those who were attached to the house of Condé, that many persons made the strongest representations thereon to his Highness. But their advice was so ill received that, upon the seventeenth time of the matter's being mentioned to him, he observed, that that was the seventeenth foolish thing which had been said to him that day, on the same subject. One less persuaded, than the Prince was, of his power and influence, would certainly have considered the affair in a different light, and have made some serious reflections, to his advantage, on what had been so frequently suggested to him.

A person had been taken, at some distance from Paris, whose name was Coutures, who, it was pretended, had been concerned in the intended assassination of the Prince of Condé: and it was determined to bring him into the city through the gate de Richelieu. Cardinal Mazarin acquainted the Prince, that he had received information
that

that the *Frondeurs* proposed to rescue the prisoner, lest he should witness against them; that it would, therefore, be necessary to station an armed force at that gate, in order to prevent the execution of their design; and that, as it was his Highness's concern, it was proper that his troops should be employed on that service, as the Queen could not always appear openly in his defence. The Prince of Condé fell into the snare, and, judging that the affair would be better conducted by the King's troops, insisted that they should be employed for that purpose. On which the Cardinal replied, that his Highness must then give them orders to obey whatever commands they should receive on the occasion: to which the Prince consented, and which he executed but too exactly: for the command which they received was to conduct him, as a prisoner, to the forest of Vincennes. But, as the design of seizing the Prince's person could not be executed without the consent of the *Frondeurs*, the court was compelled to treat with them: and, although embarrassed with the criminal process, which was carrying on against them, they, nevertheless, forced the Cardinal to purchase their acquiescence at a pretty high price.

With respect to the Coadjutor, the greater his interest was with the court, the more he endeavoured to conceal it. However, he would not reject the offers of two governments for his friends, who were to be responsible for the concurrence of the party. Laigues was promised a post in the household of the Duke of Anjou, * when it should be established, the seals were to be given to M. de Chateaufort, and a military command to some one of the *Fronde*, who should be afterwards fixed on.

It was judged improper to trust a secret of such importance to a man of the character of the Duke of Beaufort; besides, it was feared that he would reveal it to some of the female sex: but, as nothing could be effected without his concurrence, the Coadjutor declared that it was absolutely necessary to inform him of the matter,

* Philip de France, the King's brother, afterwards Duke of Orleans. He died suddenly, at Saint Cloud, in 1701.

matter, and that he would contrive the means of acquainting him with it, without any risque. For the same reason also, of the necessity of his concurrence in the design, a stipulation was made, that the reversion of the admiralship should be granted to him, together with a considerable pension, which he should enjoy till he should come into possession of the above post, that is to say, after the death of his brother, to whom it had been given. The Coadjutor represented to him, in a circumstantial manner, the situation to which their party was reduced, by the rigorous and violent conduct of the Prince of Condé. He afterwards told him that he had had thoughts of proposing the seizure of the Prince's person to Cardinal Mazarin, who he knew entertained a strong aversion to him: but, at the same time, he gave the Duke to understand, that he should think no more of that design, unless he should testify his approbation of it; according to his usual manner of proceeding with that nobleman, which was constantly to make him believe that he never undertook any measure but by his advice, although, in fact, he was accustomed to lead him like a child.

The Duke of Beaufort expressed himself highly pleased with the design; upon which the Coadjutor, feigning to adopt it merely because the Duke judged it to be expedient, assured him that he would go immediately about the execution of it. This affair had been first communicated to him in his coach, and the precaution had even been taken to leave the Marquis de Laigues with him, who never quitted him, and who accompanied him up and down the streets, without suffering him to alight from his carriage, to go into any house, lest he should reveal this negotiation to any one; so incapable was he deemed of keeping the least secret whatever.

The Coadjutor, after some time, returned to acquaint him with his success: he assured him that, in pursuance of his advice, he had negotiated matters so effectually, that, in less than an hour, the Princes would be taken into custody, and that, this being effected, it would be necessary that he should shew himself in the streets, in order to encourage the people by his presence.

Although

Although this negotiation was very quickly concluded, considering the importance of the affair, yet he made no doubt of the reality of it, placing an implicit confidence in what was told him, and not being, moreover, of a character to examine into matters so very scrupulously. But, when common fame had made him acquainted with the manner in which this treaty had been concluded, he could not brook the having been thus duped: and, as he was more addicted to vanity than to a regard for his interest, even the reversion of the admiralship could not appease his resentment. From this time, he conducted himself with great coolness towards the Coadjutor, who, on his side, gave himself no great concern about him, and even totally abandoned him in the end, from a persuasion that he would never be able to effect a reconciliation with the court. But the Duke himself, on the presumption that he had made his peace with the court, imagined that the favour of the people would be no further useful to him; and, therefore, without making any further attempts to render himself, or to appear popular, he now directed all his aims towards the attainment of the character of a good courtier, and it began to appear, that his pretensions to sincerity and probity were not altogether so well founded, nor established, as he had endeavoured to persuade the world.

But to return to the imprisonment of the Princes: * they all three came, as usual, together to the council; and, that the Duke de Longueville might not fail of attending also, and that he might be detained a prisoner at the same time with the two others, a promise was made him, that the reversion of the post of the King's lieutenant of Upper Normandy should be granted him, he having long solicited it for the son of De Beuvron. †

Many of their friends had advised them never to go all three together to the council; but they despised this caution, as also many others, of a similar nature, which had been given them, both before and at the time of their imprisonment.

The

* On the 18th of January 1650.

† M. d'Harcourt, Marquis de Beuvron. He was the father of the Marshal d'Harcourt, captain of the body guards.

The Queen obliged them to go, on that day, to the council before her; and, as they entered the gallery in which it was held, they were put under arrest. They were all three conducted down the back stairs; and were conveyed in De Guitaut's * coach, under an escort commanded by Miossans, † to the castle of Vincennes.

This event caused so great and so universal a joy throughout the whole kingdom of France, over which the news of it was quickly spread, that there was not one, even of the lowest of the citizens, who did not make a bonfire, on the occasion, before his door; not to mention these which were publicly made in every quarter of the city of Paris.

* Francis de Comminges de Guitaut, captain of the Queen-mother's guards.

† Cæsar-Phœbus d'Albret, Count de Miossans, a Marshal of France. He died in 1676.

END OF PART FIRST.



M E M O I R S
OF THE
DUTCHESS DE NEMOURS.
PART THE SECOND.

THE Dutches de Longueville, whom it had been proposed to seize, at the same time that the Princes were put under arrest, fled into Normandy, * accompanied by Mademoiselle de Longueville, † in order to attempt something in favour of the prisoners. But, instead of meeting with any success in their design, all the people of that province, who, the year before, had declared themselves in favour of the Duke de Longueville, immediately upon his appearing amongst them, received them with so much coolness, that it might have been imagined that they had never heard their names mentioned before. So that these two Princesses, finding that nothing was to be done at Rouen, where they then were, went from thence to Dieppe, at which place the Dutches de Longueville obstinately persisted in remaining, although she received positive assurances, that the court had determined to remove thither in a very short time; constantly persuading herself, that this intelligence was given her with the sole view of alarming her fears, and of obliging her to retire from the place: the remembrance of the great credit which she had formerly possessed there, still operating so powerfully on her mind.

VOL. II.

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Her

* In the year 1650.

† Mary d'Orleans, daughter of Henry d'Orleans, Duke de Longueville, by his first wife, Louisa de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Charles, Count de Soissons. This Princess was married to Henry de Savoy, Duke de Nemours: she died in 1707.

Her daughter-in-law, who was not altogether so much prepossessed as herself with the notion of this great power and influence, and who, moreover, did not think it becoming the dignity of a person of her rank, thus to wander about from place to place, even had she not loved a life of tranquillity to the degree she did; and who was, besides, fully convinced that her presence could not be of the least benefit to her father's affairs, demanded leave of the Dutchess to return to Paris: which request she did not grant without great reluctance. But, as she was not in a condition to enforce obedience to her commands, she dared not refuse her daughter-in-law this permission, and Mademoiselle de Longueville accordingly left her, very little affected with the uneasiness which she perceived her departure gave her.

The Queen, then, came into Normandy, contrary to the expectation of the Dutchess de Longueville, who was obliged, in consequence, to withdraw herself from thence, in the best manner she could.

She had, at first, determined to effect her retreat by sea, but, the wind proving contrary, she narrowly escaped being drowned: not to mention that the inhabitants of Dieppe, who enjoy very extensive privileges, which they were fearful of losing, threatened to cause their sailors to throw her over-board into the sea.

It is said that those, by whom she was guided in her conduct at this time, advised her to continue thus long at Dieppe, for the sole purpose of deceiving her. She was obliged to remain some time longer in the province, wandering about, and in disguise, before she could find an opportunity of embarking; at length she retired into Holland, from whence she returned to Stenai, of which place the Prince of Condé was governor. M. de Turenne fled thither also, accompanied by la Mouffaye, and several other partizans of the Princes.

The princess Dowager, mother of the Prince of Condé, was exiled to Chantilly, as was also her daughter-in-law: * but the latter did not continue there long.

The

* Clair de Maillé, Dutchess of Bronsac, and Princess of Condé.

The adherents of the Prince of Condé, after the King had been in Normandy and Burgundy, prevailed on her Highness to repair to Guienne, whither the Prince, her son, and the Duke de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault * accompanied her ; and, immediately upon her arrival, the whole province declared in favour of the Princes. But in Normandy it was otherwise ; for, as soon as the court appeared in that province, all those places of which the Duke de Longueville was governor, surrendered to the King, and the Duke de Richelieu yielded up the possession of Havre to his aunt, the Dutchess d'Aiguillon.

The court then went into Burgundy, where all those places which belonged to the Prince of Condé, although with some greater degree of resistance, surrendered in like manner. The court next repaired to Guienne, where they met with still less opposition than in Burgundy. The parliament, also, of that province accommodated matters with the court, on this occasion. The Princess of Condé, accompanied by the Prince, her son, and all the other persons who had attended her thither, were permitted to retire to their respective estates.

The princess Dowager of Condé was advised to attend at the Palais, at the Mercuriale † of the parliament, in order to try whether she could incite them to take some step in favour of the Princes ; and she so totally lost sight both of her dignity and of her natural haughtiness, and ran so far into the opposite extreme, that she even debased herself so much, as to tell the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, who commonly attended on those occasions, that, “ as they did her “ children the honour to acknowledge them for their “ relations, she hoped they would take pity on their “ unhappy condition.” But those gentlemen were not at all affected by this action ; and the uncommon mean-

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* M. de Marillac now took that title, in consequence of the death of his father, which happened just at this time.

† This term signifies a particular assembly of the parliament, at which the first president delivers an harangue to the members present.

ness of it served only to disgust them, as it did all those who were present at the time.

Had that Princess made her application some months later, 'tis possible she might have found the parliament in a better disposition towards her children; but she came at the very time when their resentment against the Princes was at its greatest height. It was owing, therefore, to the unseasonableness of her application that she succeeded so ill, and that she received a fresh order from the court to return to Chantilly.

A few days after the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé, all the *Frondeurs*, who had been accused of the design to assassinate him, were exculpated from the charge in the parliament. It appears that this was done both because they were, in fact, not guilty, and, also, as the Queen had issued orders for that purpose.

The first president, Molé,* who was no friend to the party, could not refrain from telling them that the imprisonment of the Princes was an excellent argument to prove their innocence. The Coadjutor having lived on such friendly terms with the Duke de Longueville, and having received so many obligations from that nobleman, was so much ashamed of having contributed to his imprisonment, that he used all his endeavours, to induce a belief that he had not known any thing of the intention; and when Mademoiselle de Longueville returned to Paris, in her way to the place to which she had been exiled, he paid her a visit, purposely to assure her that the Cardinal had deceived him on the occasion, having given him a positive promise, that her father should be detained in confinement but for a few days only, after which he should be set at liberty on his parole.

But the court held a very different language on the subject; declaring that it never was intended, at first, to seize the person of the Duke de Longueville; but that the Coadjutor had suggested that that Prince would be dishonoured, if he should not be put under arrest at the

* Matthew Mole, first president of the parliament and keeper of the seals: he died in 1656.

the same time with his brothers-in-law, that he (the Coadjutor) had even urged the matter very strongly, observing that it would be absolutely expedient to preserve the Duke's honour; and that this was the sole proof which he had given of his friendship for him.

Cardinal Mazarin, who never granted any favour, but when influenced thereto by his fears, deriving fresh courage from the submission of the three provinces, whither the court had repaired, as has been already mentioned, began to give himself little concern about the *Frondeurs*. The first person who found himself neglected was the Duke of Beaufort, who was, also, the first to listen to the proposals for an accommodation with the Princes.

They, on their part, asked him why he would have contributed to their imprisonment, seeing that it was universally known that the whole affair was concealed from him with all possible caution.

This was done with the double view of incensing him to the utmost against the rest of his party, for having manifested so little confidence in him, and, also, of insinuating to him that the Princes could not entertain any resentment against him on the occasion.

During this time, the Dutchess de Longueville, who was at Stenai, at which place was M. de Turenne also, entered into a treaty with the Spaniards, who engaged to furnish M. de Turenne with a body of troops, to enable him to undertake some enterprize in favour of the Princes, in consideration of which they were put in possession of the city of Stenai, the Princes party retaining only the citadel,

It was also proposed to march a body of troops into Normandy, which were to be commanded by the Marshal de la Mothe. But, when the friends of the Prince of Condé had maturely considered the affair, they determined against that design, through fear, lest it should be productive of the enlargement of the Duke de Longueville, alone, against whom their former discontents began to revive, and that this might be prejudicial to the interests of the other Princes. It had been determined that, as soon as the troops should have entered

tered Normandy, the Count d'Harcourt, who acted there in quality of governor, should be seized, in order to strike the greater terror. The Dutches de Longueville and the Marchioness de Flavacourt, had concerted all the necessary measures for the execution of this enterprize, of which the Count having received some information, he complained bitterly of the conduct of those ladies on the occasion : but they affected to treat his suspicions with so much ridicule, that, every one following their example, he was obliged to be silent on the matter, although he was fully persuaded of the reality of their design against him.

The Coadjutor found, too late, that he had no chance whatever of effecting his accommodation with the court. Most of the articles of his treaty still remained unexecuted. It is true, that the government of Mount Olympus had been given to Noirmoutier ; but there was no further talk of the other government, which had been promised him, (the Coadjutor) nor of the title of Duke, which was to have been conferred on one of his friends, although the people of Paris had approved of that prelate's reconciliation with Cardinal Mazarin : because they found themselves, thereby, delivered from the Prince of Condé, whom they hated still more than the Cardinal.

But as the people are naturally very wavering in their opinions, those of Paris, although they had approved, at first, of this reconciliation between the Coadjutor and Cardinal Mazarin, afterwards became very averse to the connection which subsisted between these two men ; and their hatred to the minister now returned, with greater force than ever, whilst their antipathy to the Prince of Condé was considerably diminished, by the pity which his imprisonment had created in their minds.

The Coadjutor, therefore, now perceived, not only that it was very unlikely that he should obtain any thing from Cardinal Mazarin, but also that his sole dependance for the security of his person was on the Duke of Orleans, with whom he had become a great favourite, since the disgrace of the Abbé de la Riviere.

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He exerted all his skill to improve this advantage, and, as he could not expect to possess any consequence in the state, but what he should derive from his connections with the Duke of Orleans, it was for his interest that that Prince should obtain all possible influence with his party. He, therefore, suggested to him the design of getting the three Princes into his hands, and of causing them to be removed to the Bastile.

The court having foreseen this incident, previous to their journey to Guyenne, and judging that the Princes were situated too near at the castle of Vincennes, had already obtained the Duke's consent to their removal to Marcouffi, which was at a greater distance from Paris; and this under the pretext that M. de Turenne advanced very fast, it not being so easy for the Duke to make himself master of their persons whilst they should continue at Marcouffi; although, had he been inclined to attempt it with vigour, he might have effected it without much difficulty: particularly during the King's absence from Paris. But he chose rather that they should be removed to the Bastile with the consent of the court.

This proposal greatly embarrassed the court and the minister, and they exerted all their endeavours, to induce him to relinquish the intention, both by letters and by the agency of such of the ministers as had remained at Paris. But all their attempts proved ineffectual. The Dutchess de Chevreuse, who appeared to be totally devoted to the service of the court, and who had some influence over the Duke of Orleans, also undertook to persuade him to comply with what the Queen required of him: but she was equally unsuccessful with the rest.

The friends of the Princes were not idle at this juncture, and they resumed their negotiations, both with the court and with the *Fronde*; and, perceiving that a rupture was likely to ensue between these two parties, they would have preferred a connection with the court. But, after they had put in practice every method which they could devise, even to the proposing a match between the Prince of Condé and one of the Cardinal's nieces, they perceived, with infinite regret, that nothing was to be effected

effected on that side. They, therefore, now totally confined themselves to their negotiation with the *Fronde*, and in this too they met with better success.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse listened with pleasure to the proposal which was made to her, of the marriage of the Prince of Conti with her daughter. Madame de Rhodes was the person who first led her to espouse the interests of the Prince of Condé, by giving her hopes of being able to accomplish this marriage, founded on the advantage which that Prince would himself derive therefrom: and it was by this same argument that she removed the Dutchess's objections, respecting his known disregard to his engagements, by representing to her that, if she could not trust to his promises, she ought, at least, to place a confidence in that peculiar attachment, which he ever manifested for his own interests.

Immediately upon the imprisonment of the Princes, Madame de Rhodes had waited on the princess Dowager of Condé, and had promised her that she would render her sons some considerable service: which it was easy for her to do, because M. de Châteauneuf entertained a passion for her, and, as the natural daughter of the Cardinal de Lorraine, she was a niece of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, with whom she was very closely connected. M. de Rhodes, whose widow she was, had always been strongly attached to the house of Condé: but, exclusive of this circumstance, she had contracted such a fondness for political intrigues and cabals, that she rushed headlong into them, without giving herself much concern about their tendency, not to mention, also, the affection, which she herself bore to the family of Condé. For these reasons, it will easily be conceived that she eagerly sought to acquit herself of her promises to the princess Dowager. As the Coadjutor was doubtful what his situation might be upon the return of the court to Paris, he also readily entered into a negotiation with the Princes.

In the mean time, the court returned to Fontainebleau, whither the Duke of Orleans went to pay his compliments to their Majesties. In spite of all the promises which he had made before his departure, and although

though he had manifested the utmost eagerness to get the Princes into his hands, no sooner had the Queen said a few words to him on the subject, than he consented, through his natural want of resolution, that they should be conducted to Havre.

The court openly boasted that, upon the Queen's return to Paris, it would be an easy matter to seize the persons of the *Frondeurs*, even in the very markets.

When it was known that the Princes were to be removed to Havre, this circumstance gave many persons great concern. The Princes party were reduced thereby, to the utmost despair, having no longer the least hopes of their restoration to liberty; and the *Frondeurs*, on their side, perceiving the authority of Cardinal Mazarin thus augmented, as well by the imprisonment of the Princes, who were now absolutely in his power, as by the irresolution of the Duke of Orleans, who was their sole support, they judged their ruin to be inevitable; and, having learnt what was said at court, of the facility with which their persons might be seized, as mentioned above, they made all possible haste to conclude their treaty with the Princes.

As those who negotiated on behalf of the Princes were not very scrupulous, they did not hesitate to propose to the Dutchess de Montbazon, * for whom the Duke of Beaufort entertained a passion, and who governed him, a match between the Prince of Conti and her daughter, notwithstanding that she was promised to another person, and that the Prince was already engaged to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. But the Dutchess de Montbazon would not accept of this proposal, and they hit upon another, which proved more agreeable to her; which was to procure for her the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, of which they engaged that the court should pay her eighty thousand, which was due to her for arrears of salary to her late husband, and that the remainder should be paid her by the Princes.

This article formed a separate treaty; because the Dutchess did not chuse that it should come to the know-

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* Mademoiselle de Rohan, Princess de Guemené, Dutchess de Montbazon, daughter of Peter de Rohan, Count de Vertus.

ledge of the rest of the *Fronde*; and this treaty was concluded and signed some months before that of the party in general, and which last was never signed by the Dutcheſs de Montbazon.

Although the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor bore no good will to each other, yet, perceiving the neceſſity that there was for their uniting in their common defence, they now adjusted their differences, becauſe that neither of them poſſeſſed any credit in the city ſo long as they continued at variance.

The Princes friends were aſſiduous in their endeavours to ſerve them on this occaſion: nothing was neglected which could tend to procure them their liberty, although there was little probability of ſucceſs.

The principal perſon who appeared in this negotiation was the princeſs Palatine, * the wife of Edward, prince Palatine, who had never made any conſpicuous figure in the world till now. She had even been involved in ſeveral affairs of rather a diſagreeable nature, but ſhe poſſeſſed ſuch a genius, and ſo particular a talent for political intrigues, that no one ſucceeded ſo well in them as ſhe did.

The Duke de Nemours † alſo entered into theſe negotiations: but he was diſtinguiſhed rather by his probity, politeneſs, and by the agreeableneſs of his manners, than by his abilities. He ſided with the Princes; becauſe, a ſhort time before their imprifonment, being diſſatisfied with the Cardinal's conduct, he had reprehended him in very ſevere terms. Upon which it was obſerved to him, that he was very unfortunate not to have received any favour from his eminency after this, and that he was the only perſon who had ever offended him without being rewarded.

The

* Anne de Gonzague de Mantua, wife of Edward, prince Palatine: ſhe died a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, at Paris, in 1663.

† Charles-Amadeus de Savoy, Duke de Nemours, who was killed in a duel, by the Duke of Beaufort, in 1652. He was the father of Mary-Jane Baptiſt de Nemours, afterwards Dutcheſs of Savoy, and of Mary-Francoiſe-Elizabeth d'Aumale, ſince Queen of Portugal.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault also, with great unwillingness, commenced a negotiation with the *Frondeurs*, but there was no resisting the torrent. The treaty between the Princes and the *Fronde* was kept very secret, and still more so was that particular article of the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse * with the Prince of Conti. The utmost precaution was taken that the Duke of Beaufort, especially, should not come to the knowledge of it, according to his usual fate in every affair in which he was at any time engaged.

In order to effect this point, it was agreed, that the Duke de Nemours, his brother-in-law, should read the treaty aloud, and that those passages which he was to omit reading, being such as the Duke of Beaufort was not to be made acquainted with, should be marked with a pencil; which circumstance first gave rise to the unhappy affair, which afterwards ensued between them, and of which further mention will be made in the sequel.

The Duke of Orleans became a party in this treaty, in which Mademoiselle de Valois, † his third daughter, was granted in marriage to the Duke of Enguien. The Coadjutor required that the Prince of Condé should use his influence, to procure his advancement to the Cardinalship: for every one treated with this Prince in a manner, as if they had imagined him to be on the point of becoming King of France, being fully persuaded that, no sooner should he obtain his liberty, than he would become the absolute master of the kingdom; and no one treated with him on any other footing.

At length, from the ruins of these two parties, of the Princes and of the *Fronde*, there arose one, whose power was so great, that it exceeded even that of the court.

What contributed to a change so unexpected and so extraordinary was, that it was seen that the court had never pardoned any thing of what had passed; and that, if at times they had manifested an inclination so to do,
it

* Charlotte-Maria de Chevreuse, daughter of Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse: she died, unmarried, in 1652.

† Francoise-Magdalen de Valois, married to Emmanuel the second, Duke de Savoy: she died in 1664.

it had arisen solely from the embarrassment in which they chanced to find themselves involved; because, also, that the minister was not less depressed in adversity, than he was proud and haughty in prosperity.

The parliament, therefore, judged that, for their own security, it would be absolutely necessary to create business for that minister, and never to suffer him to be without. Even his own creatures were glad to see him thus embarrassed, as they could always obtain more favours from him when he was surrounded with difficulties. But what caused a fresh stir amongst the *Frondeurs* was, that many of the Princes friends, as also not a few of their own party, afforded those gentlemen a powerful support. And, what was little credited at the time, although nevertheless a certain fact, a considerable number of persons of consequence joined the Prince of Condé's party, when they thought that this measure would be of no benefit to him; amongst others the Duke of Orleans and some of those members of the parliament who first entered into the *Fronde*, who found a connection with his party very advantageous whilst he was absent.

Nevertheless the friends of the Princes, as I have already mentioned, were assiduous in their endeavours to serve them, and neglected nothing which could be for their advantage, either in the *Fronde*, or in the parliament, where they had formed a powerful cabal.

The parliament well knew that Cardinal Mazarin was no friend to them, and, judging that the advantages which that minister had lately obtained over his enemies were sufficiently great, to enable him to undertake something against them, they thought it necessary to renew their cabals, in order to divert his attention to other affairs, and accordingly united themselves with the rest of the parties. So that the Queen did not find her situation at Paris such as she had expected it would have been.

The Dutchess de Longueville had retired to Stenai, with M. de Turenne, where, as I have already observed, she concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, by which she surrendered to them the city of Stenai, and retained only the citadel, the Spaniards engaging, in return, to furnish M. de Turenne with a body of troops, at the head

of

of which he was to enter France ; and these troops had even already taken Rhetel, to which place the King's army had now laid siege, and expected to make themselves masters of it in a short time.

Immediately upon the Cardinal's return to Paris, he was obliged to repair to the above frontier, where he met with such success, that not only Rhetel surrendered to the King's troops, but the Marshal du Plessis-Praslin * also had the good fortune to obtain a victory over M. de Turenne. But, what was very strange, these successes, instead of benefiting the minister's affairs at Paris, served, on the contrary, only to render them still more embarrassed ; as the fear of his becoming, in consequence, too powerful, incited his foes to renew their attacks with greater vigour than ever.

During this time the court had continued at Paris, where they fancied that their power was absolute, and that they had nothing to fear or even to guard against ; and, although their real situation was very different from what they imagined it to be, yet so strongly was the Queen prepossessed with this notion of her security, that she could not be prevailed on to fix her residence at the Louvre, from whence she might have retired from the city whenever she had thought proper. Whereas, at the Palais Royal, she found herself surrounded and hemmed in by the people, and was even situated very near to the markets, in which quarter the greatest tumults which had happened in the city had commonly originated. It is possible that she might be partly influenced, on this occasion, by the desire of having more magnificent, and more commodious apartments, but she ought not to have forgot, that it was this very circumstance, of her residing at the Palais Royal, which had formerly compelled her, at the time of the barricadoes, to release Broussel and Blancmesnil.

The first incident, which served to demonstrate to her Majesty, that the fear which the people of Paris entertained

* Cæsar, Duke de Choiseul, Count du Plessis-Praslin, Marshal of France : he died in 1675.

entertained of her and the Cardinal, was not so great as they had both conceived it to be, was, that one morning a portrait of that minister was found in the streets, with a cord passed round the neck of the figure; and it was this, also, which first began to intimidate her, and diminish that over-great confidence which she had hitherto manifested in all her conduct.

Just at this time, the Duke of Beaufort passing one evening through the streets, some persons approached the coach, and shot one of his attendants, who was seated in it, close to the door. This transaction proved of sufficient consequence to awaken the animosity of the people. Every one maintained that the design had been formed against the master, and that, as the deceased had very light-coloured hair, the assassins had mistaken him for the Duke.

But the court talked very differently on the matter; declaring that the person who had been killed could not have been taken for the Duke of Beaufort, because his hair was black; which was, in fact, true with respect to Saint-Eglaan, the deceased: and, moreover, this man was so little known, that it was not difficult for them to paint him of whatever colour they might think proper.

The court afterwards publicly asserted that this assassination had been concerted by the Princes party; that it was a second Joliade; and that the pretended attack upon Joli, which they had contrived previous to the imprisonment of the Princes, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people, not having produced the desired effect, they had determined, on this occasion, to sacrifice a man outright, to see if that scheme would have any better success. But the whole mystery of this affair was at length unravelled, in consequence of a capture which was made, at this time, of a number of robbers; amongst whom were discovered the persons who had perpetrated the act. These wretches confessed the murder, and declared that, having perceived more persons in the Duke of Beaufort's coach than they had expected to find, they had judged it best to retire, without attempting to rob them.

After

After this discovery, all further talk on the subject was dropped; neither of the parties concerning themselves any longer about what might be the colour of the deceased's hair.

During these trifling disturbances which had arisen in Paris, others of a more important nature began to be renewed: the disorders of the kingdom, and the bad management of the finances, again became the subject of general conversation. But what reduced the Cardinal's affairs to a still worse situation than before, was his ill-judged policy, in feigning an inclination to set the Princes at liberty.

As it was generally imagined that the Prince of Condé's return was very near at hand, all were desirous of contributing to this change in his condition; and every one now began to talk openly on the subject of the Princes' releasement, and to declare that it was the only means to remedy the disorders and the misfortunes of the state.

The Duke of Orleans constantly manifested a zealous attachment to the interests of the *Frondeurs* when he was with them; but in conversing, at any time, with the Queen, he always expressed very different sentiments; and he changed so frequently, that it was almost impossible for either of the parties to place a confidence in him.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse persuaded the Queen that she exerted herself to the utmost, to prevail on that Prince to comply with whatever her Majesty should require of him: and she even seemed, at times, to have had pretty good success in her attempts. But, at length, on a certain day, on which the Duke of Orleans chanced to be at the Palais Royal, Cardinal Mazarin observed to the King, that the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor, appeared to have taken Fairfax and Cromwell for their models; that the parliament resembled that of England; and that, should they be permitted to carry their designs into execution, they would exhibit the same scenes in France, which had been so lately acted in England.

To this, the Duke of Orleans, who, perhaps, only sought a pretext for breaking off all connection with the court,

court, replied, that, having the honour to be so nearly related to the King, he could not permit such strange impressions to be given his Majesty, and that it was his duty to represent to him the injustice and bad tendency of them; adding, that he would never return to the Palace again, till those, who filled the King's mind with such suspicions of the fidelity of his best subjects, should be first banished from thence: after which he retired without taking leave.

A person was immediately dispatched after him, but it was to no purpose: he sent a message to the Queen, that he would return no more to the Palais Royal, till Cardinal Mazarin should be first dismissed, and that he had already suffered but too much from him.

On the next day, the Coadjutor went to the parliament, where he declared, that he had it in command from the Duke of Orleans to acquaint the assembly, that he judged it expedient that the Princes should be released, and that he had assured the Queen of his firm resolution, never to return to the court, so long as the Cardinal should remain there. He afterwards acquainted them with all the circumstances of that affair. The Coadjutor has since asserted, perhaps with the view of making his court to the Prince of Condé, and perhaps also it might be true, that he had made the above declaration in the parliament, without having received any orders for that purpose from the Duke of Orleans, through fear lest that Prince should alter his resolution: but that this measure having been previously proposed and agreed to in his council, he had made no doubt but that the Duke would approve of it, which he also did, being still violently irritated against the court. All these circumstances greatly embarrassed the Queen; and gave her much uneasiness and vexation.

Several of the ministers, at different times, waited on the Duke of Orleans, in her Majesty's name, but he still continued inflexible. She even sent him word that, if he approved of it, she would pay him a visit in person: to which he returned for answer, that if he should see her enter his palace at one door, he would directly quit it at another.

The

The Queen of England,* also, went to him, with proposals from that Princess; but she met with no better reception than the rest had experienced: on the contrary, after having employed all her arguments in vain, as she came down the stairs, some insolent persons began to insult her, crying out, "There goes a Mazarin!" which she resented so highly, that she went back to the Duke, her brother, for to tell him that she would never see him more, unless he would engage that she should be treated with all due respect by those about him.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse, after having exerted all her endeavours to prevail on the Duke of Orleans to yield to the Queen's request, acquainted her Majesty, that he appeared to be so determined, that certainly no one could induce him to alter his resolution; that her Majesty was the only person who could effect this; that she had so great an ascendant over his mind, and so peculiar an art of persuading him to a compliance with her wishes, that, could she once have a conference with him, she would, doubtless, be able to pacify his resentment in a great degree, and infallibly to destroy all that influence which the *Frondeurs* had acquired over him, and who dreaded a similar interview; and, finally, that it would be necessary that, in order to satisfy the Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal should retire to St. Germain's only, as his Royal Highness had absolutely engaged not to return to the Palais Royal, so long as that minister should continue there, and that, when once the Duke should have returned thither, she might then obtain from him whatever she should think proper to ask: so great was her influence over that Prince.

The Cardinal fell into the snare: whether it was from the speciousness of the proposal, or whether from the implicit confidence which he placed in the Dutchess de Chevreuse, of whose judgment he entertained a very high opinion, and whom he imagined could not but be in his interests, because of the great influence which

Laigues

* Henrietta-Maria de France, daughter of Henry IV. the King's aunt: she died in 1669.

Laigues possessed over her, well knowing that no accommodation could possibly take place between that gentleman and the Prince of Condé; but, what his eminency was not sufficiently acquainted with at that time was, that, on this occasion, the Dutchess de Chevreuse governed Laigues.

Cardinal Mazarin, therefore, set off * for St. Germain's on the following night; and it was agreed between the Queen and him, that the Princes should not be released, but with the consent of both parties. They did not, however, imagine that their separation would be of long continuance.

On the very next day, the Queen sent a message to the Duke of Orleans, acquainting him that, in order to satisfy him, she had caused the Cardinal to retire, and that he might now, therefore, visit the King and her whenever he should think proper. But the Duke replied that, the Cardinal being at no greater distance than five leagues from Paris, to which city he might, in consequence, again repair whenever he should please, he expected that his eminency should quit the kingdom before he could consent to return to the Palais Royal: and, in the same instant, he went to the parliament, for the purpose of engaging that assembly to issue an edict against Cardinal Mazarin, whereby he should be banished from France, as a "disturber of the public peace," and all the King's faithful subjects should be enjoined to attack him personally, in whatever part of his Majesty's dominions he should be found. This the Duke effected without much difficulty, as the Cardinal's departure, which had much of the appearance of a flight, had revived the courage of the parliament, and had greatly dispirited the adherents of that minister.

A strong report now arose, that the court had determined to retire secretly from Paris. I know not what foundation there was for it; but the Duke of Orleans was so firmly persuaded of the truth of it, that he sent for the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs, and acquainted them that he had received certain intelligence,

* In the year 1651.

telligence, that the creatures of Cardinal Mazarin had formed a design to carry off the King, and that, as such an event might cause great disturbances in the state, it would be proper, in order to defeat their intentions, that the citizens should take possession both of the gates of the Palais Royal, and also of those of the city : which was immediately carried into execution. The Queen, also, to prevent the royal authority from sustaining any injury on the occasion, commanded the attendance of the provost of the merchants, and gave him the like instructions.

Not a single night passed in which the Duke of Orleans did not cause the Queen to be waked out of her sleep two or three times, in order to know whether the King's person was safe. This the Queen very impatiently brooked, and still more to perceive that the security of her person was very precarious, through the animosity which she knew was entertained, both against herself, and against the Cardinal.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse had maintained, in all the consultations of the *Frondeurs*, that all that was requisite was to remove the Cardinal from about the Queen's person ; and that, from the perfect knowledge which she had of her Majesty's disposition, she was convinced that, no sooner should his eminency be out of her sight than she would totally forget him. All which happened according to her prediction, as will be seen in the sequel.

Every one, however, imagines, to this day, that the absolute power, which the Queen permitted the Cardinal to assume over her, arose from an attachment of a very peculiar nature. Nevertheless, the truth is, * that it was merely the effect of her disinclination for public business, and a consequence of the bad opinion which she entertained of her abilities in that respect. In which it may be said, that she greatly deceived herself ; for it is certain that this Princess possessed a large fund of good sense, and that, in the council, she constantly adopted that advice which was best calculated for the public benefit.

* The character of the Queen-Mother.

ness. Had she used application, she would have rendered herself expert in the management of affairs: but, with a good capacity, she had an invincible aversion to every thing which bore the least resemblance to business. Thus, through the desire of being released from all the cares and trouble, which attend the management of the affairs of a state, she invested those, who had acquired her confidence, with a power which had no bounds: and as this her aversion to business was accompanied with an unaccountable diffidence of herself, which rendered her incapable of deciding upon any matter of importance, she blindly submitted herself to the advice, and, if I may presume so to say, to the will, of those persons in whom she placed an entire confidence. Fatal docility! which proved the source of much vexation to that Princess, who, in other respects, possessed a thousand amiable virtues, and a thousand great qualities, of which few were acquainted with the value, being in every respect, ignorant of the character of that Queen.

I know, therefore, that what I am about to assert on that subject is contrary to the general opinion. Nevertheless, I am so well acquainted with its reality, that I can neither have the least doubt on the matter, nor can I refrain from mentioning it in this place: for it appears to me, that those truths which are the least known, are the most worthy of curiosity; and this circumstance, so little known, is that after the Cardinal's departure, the Queen and he seldom acted in concert, and that they were often little satisfied with each other's conduct.

The Queen, through that same diffidence of herself, placed the like confidence in the other ministers, as soon as the Cardinal had retired; and as they unanimously advised her to release the Princes from confinement, she readily consented thereto, without even recollecting, that she was under an engagement to Cardinal Mazarin never to take that step, but with his concurrence.

It is true that she would have found it very difficult to have dispensed with yielding her consent to this proposal, as their Majesties were, in a manner, held in imprisonment in the Palais Royal. The ministers, the first president Molé, and the friends of the Princes adjusted

justed the conditions of their Highnesses releasement; and the Marshal de Grammont * was chosen to carry the articles to Havre.

When the Cardinal became acquainted with these proceedings, and with the little regard which the Queen had shewn for him on the occasion, he was not less affected than surprized thereat. But those friends whom he had still remaining at court, at the same time that they communicated this intelligence to him, acquainted him that it was requisite that he should assume to himself the honour of the whole transaction, and that he should go in person to set the Princes at liberty: which he did, and even on more favourable conditions for them, than those were which the Marshal de Grammont was commissioned to offer them, and which were rendered useless, because the Marshal did not arrive at Havre till some time after the Cardinal, who had already released their Highnesses from their confinement.

So strongly was every one prepossessed with the notion that the Queen gave herself up, on every occasion, to the direction of Cardinal Mazarin, that no notice whatever was taken of the slowness of their correspondence, nor of the various misunderstandings, which have, from time to time, arisen between them ever since that period: for it is certain that they never lived in so confidential an intercourse with each other after the æra of his departure, as they had done before.

However, as the Queen still found herself confined in the Palais Royal, the city guard, which had before taken possession of the gates, not having been removed, although she had caused the necessary orders to be expedited for the releasement of the Princes, the friends of Cardinal Mazarin dispatched M. de Navailles to him, to advise him not to be in a hurry to carry those orders into execution, and to acquaint their Highnesses friends at Paris, that they must not expect to see the effect of them, till the King and Queen should first be freed from every restraint. But M. de Navailles arrived too late,

* Anthony de Grammont, Duke de Grammont, Peer and Marshal of France: he died in 1678.

late, and the Princes had already quitted Havre, before he entered the place.

The Prince of Condé was greatly surprized and embarrassed when he saw Cardinal Mazarin enter his prison, from the uncertainty in which he found himself, whether he was powerful or unfortunate. However, he determined to give him a civil reception, even before he had learnt what were the motives of his visit. After which, he and the Cardinal entered into several important engagements. But it was common for them to pay little regard to their engagements with each other, and it was even remarked, that, as soon as the Prince of Condé had quitted his prison, he scarcely seemed to take any, the least, notice of that minister.

I had forgot to observe that, as soon as the princess Palatine had learnt that the Princes were at liberty, she waited on the Dutchess de Montbazon, and feigning all imaginable friendship for her, she told her, that she was very anxious to procure for her the payment of the money, which their Highnesses had promised her; desiring that she would put into her hands the written engagement, in virtue of which she was to receive it, in order to accelerate the payment of it, and promising to take the utmost care of the paper.

The Dutchess de Montbazon, being deceived by these protestations, without considering the inconveniencies to which she might expose herself, although she was naturally very avaricious, delivered to the Princess the paper in question: but from that time she heard nothing further of the matter. She, therefore, pressed the princess Palatine either to bring the business to a conclusion, or to return her the paper: to which that Princess replied, that, having given it to the Prince of Condé, it was no longer in her disposal.

Upon receiving this answer, the Dutchess de Montbazon sent a person to demand payment of the money of the Prince of Condé, who, in answer, only made a jest of the affair, and turned the lady into ridicule. That lady, perceiving that her loss was irremediable, suffered the affair to drop, either from a conviction of the inutility of proceeding further in it, or from an unwillingness

willingness that the public should know to what degree she had been duped. I have related all the circumstances of this affair in one single article, although they happened at different intervals; but my reason for it is, that I may not again be obliged to interrupt the course of my narrative with a recital of those particulars.

Before the return of the Princes to Paris, the Duke of Orleans sent to Mademoiselle de Longueville, afterwards Dutchess de Nemours, a petition, ready drawn up, to be laid before the parliament of Normandy, requesting them to issue an edict against Cardinal Mazarin; she being, at that time, the sole proper representative of the Princes in that province, on account of the family alliance which subsisted between them. It was necessary, therefore, that the petition should be presented in her name. However it never was presented, nor is it known what became of it afterwards.

It was expected at Paris, that the Prince of Condé would, immediately upon his return, become the absolute master of that city. Every one imagined that, as his party, even during his imprisonment, had dared, and had been able to keep the King a prisoner, in a manner, in his palace, there was nothing which he might not attempt, and with success also, when he should once have put himself at their head. It was presumed that he would acquire an absolute and boundless power, against which all resistance would be vain.

His friends and creatures already thought of nothing else, but of dividing amongst themselves all the posts, and all the governments of the kingdom; and his enemies were under the most terrible apprehensions of his resentment. The Queen and the ministers lived in a similar state of uneasiness, being abandoned by every one, and unable to determine in what manner to act. In a word, persons of all ranks, both at court, and in the city, were reduced to a wretched condition: and those only were free from terror, who had entered into some kind connection with the Prince of Condé.

It was reported that he intended, immediately upon his arrival, to cause old M. de Guitault to be put to death, for having dared to arrest his person; that he would

would next put the Queen under confinement in a convent; and, finally, that he would cause himself to be declared regent conjointly with the Duke of Orleans, in consequence of which association it was naturally supposed that he would retain all the power of the regency in his own hands: to all this was further added, that, as, in former regencies, the term at which the King is supposed to come of age, had been advanced to thirteen years, it might, probably, be altered again to seventeen, to which it had before been limited.

It is very certain that, however extraordinary the fears and apprehensions, which the people had conceived on this subject, might appear, yet it was far from being improbable that they should be verified; and it is equally certain that the Prince of Condé might, with ease, have effected any enterprize he should have been inclined to undertake, in that universal terror and consternation into which he had thrown the whole kingdom of France. And it may justly be asserted, that the infatuation by which he was possessed, and which restrained him from exerting his power on this occasion, in spite of the natural violence and haughtiness of his temper, can be attributed solely to the good fortune of the King, (whom such glorious destinies awaited) and to the will of God, who would neither permit the kingdom thus to be destroyed, nor that France should receive laws from a Prince less worthy of the throne, than him to whom he had himself committed the reins of government.

The first remarkable circumstance of the conduct of the Prince of Condé, after his release, was that, upon his arrival at Rouen, he totally neglected to cause the parliament of that city to issue the edict, which they had before agreed on, against the Cardinal, and that his Highness did not even mention a syllable of the matter during his stay there. This gave rise to a great variety of conjectures, although no one was able to penetrate into the real motives, by which the Prince was actuated on this occasion.

The Queen, who no longer acted with authority, requested the Marshal d'Aumont * to officiate in person,

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* Anthony d'Aumont and d'Estrabonne, Peer and Marshal of France, Duke d'Aumont: he died in 1669.

as captain of the body-guards, at the ensuing interview to which the Princes were to be admitted, and that he would not entrust that post to his son, upon the occasion, who was as yet but a young man; observing, however, that she was not ignorant that the execution of this office was rather incompatible with his dignity, as a marshal of France. The Marshal replied, that he should always esteem it the highest honour to serve the King, in whatever station it might be; but that, as he wished to acquit himself, upon all occasions, with credit, he could not undertake this employ, unless her Majesty would engage that the King should not keep at too great a distance from him, that he might be the better enabled to answer for the security of his person, and that orders should be given to the door-keepers, to admit all those whom he should bring with him to the Palace. He added that, upon the arrival of the Princes at the palace, he would fill the chamber of audience with a number of disbanded officers and soldiers, for whom he would be responsible, in order that her Majesty's authority might undergo no diminution: of all which the Queen greatly approved.

Those who observed this unusual number of strangers present on the occasion imagined, only, that they had been collected together by chance, and by the desire of being spectators of so important an interview, as that between the Prince of Condé and the Queen.

On the day on which the Princes arrived at Paris, (16th of February 1651) bonfires were made in various parts of the city, for joy of their restoration to liberty, as had before been done, on occasion of their imprisonment. But it must be acknowledged that these latter were neither made with the same good will, nor were they so brilliant, as the former: for the people are often very fantastical in their disposition; and of this they had given several instances, in their conduct respecting the Princes.

The Duke of Orleans went to meet them in his carriage, on which occasion the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor had the honour to accompany him. All parties were profuse of their embraces and their compliments.

pliments. But it was in this exterior civility that those gentlemen made to consist all their gratitude, and all their friendship for each other.

The Duke of Orleans, who had not seen the Queen since their disagreement, went to the Palais Royal, to introduce the three Princes to her ; and from thence he conducted them home with him to supper. An apparent coolness reigned at the audience, nor did much more cordiality shew itself at the repast ; and, as nothing further remarkable happened at the time, every one, from that instant, began to lay aside the apprehensions which he had entertained, of the consequences of the Prince of Condé's return.

It was easy to perceive, from this moderation, which had not been expected from him, that his designs were neither of so important, nor of so violent a nature, as the public had imagined ; and from hence also a judgment was even formed of what his future conduct would be.

But, in order to understand in what manner all this power and influence, both of the Prince of Condé and of the *Fronde*, was destroyed ; to conceive how so many specious appearances so suddenly vanished, and so many terrible projects were rendered effete, without opposition, and in so short a time ; and, finally, how so many powerful connections and treaties were so soon broken through ; it will be necessary, in order to give the clearer idea of the matter, to relate all the attending circumstances ; and, for this purpose, I must resume the affair further back.

As the friends of the Prince of Condé were well informed, that the two factions of which the *Fronde* was composed, mortally hated each other, they had the address to make each of them believe, that it was with their party, alone, that his Highness wished to be connected. The Duke of Beaufort was infatuated to the last degree with the idea of this predilection in his favour ; and they had effectually persuaded him, that the Prince's re-accommodation with the other party, was merely a patched-up affair ; whilst that with him was founded on the basis of the most perfect sincerity.

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They added that, exclusive of the merit of the Princes release, which could be attributed to him alone, the cause of their detention could not, by any means, be imputed to him; seeing that it was notorious, that he had known nothing of the matter; that, for this reason, their Highnesses could neither bear him any ill will on the subject, nor could they entertain any sentiments, respecting him, with which he must not have good cause to be satisfied; besides, that he had been the first also to negotiate in their behalf. The Duke of Beaufort readily credited every thing that was said to him of this kind, and to all their flattery he still added a thousand particulars to his advantage.

Those who negotiated for the Princes feigned a belief of what he said, and affected not to entertain the least doubt, but that it was him who had prevailed on the Coadjutor to espouse their Highnesses interests. Moreover, they highly extolled him for having declined to make any terms for himself. But they, at the same time, naturally concluded, that he had affected this false appearance of disinterestedness, solely with the view of obtaining the greater advantages for himself.

Nevertheless, as he presumed equally on his good fortune and on his abilities for political intrigues, he imagined not only that he had, by the one, induced a belief of all that he had asserted, respecting the obligations which the Princes lay under to him; but, also, that he had acquired, by the other, a considerable share in the management of affairs, and in quality of the chief friend, and of the favourite of him who directed every measure.

So thoroughly, therefore, was he infatuated with this notion, that, when he heard of the intended marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse with the Prince of Conti, he fell into so violent a rage, and conceived so much chagrin on the occasion, that he, for a long time, appeared absorbed, in a manner, in the consideration of the affair, rightly judging that this marriage would give the other party of the *Fronde*, much greater influence over the Prince of Condé, than he could, in that case, hope to possess; and that, consequently, he

should not enjoy so great a share of the Prince's favour as he had promised himself.

From this reflection, therefore, arose his grief. But his rage was occasioned by the discovery which he had now made, that he had been duped in the aforementioned treaty, and by his having been kept totally ignorant of this marriage, so destructive of his hopes; although he was so much accustomed to this kind of reserve, from those with whom he was connected, that it might have been imagined that he would have felt it less sensibly on the present occasion.

In consequence of this last instance of his party's reserve towards him, he conceived so violent a resentment against the Duke de Nemours, * his brother-in-law, that it is commonly supposed that it laid the first foundation for the subsequent duel between them, and in which the Duke de Nemours was killed by his antagonist. That circumstance, together with the Prince of Condé's refusal to fulfill his engagement with the Dutchess de Montbazon, respecting the sum of money which he had promised her, obliged the Duke of Beaufort to enter into treaty with the court, about which the Prince of Condé gave himself very little concern.

The Prince of Condé, on the next day after his arrival at Paris, very punctually waited on the Dutchess de Chevreuse, purposely to return her his most grateful thanks for all the services she had rendered him; assuring her that he considered himself as being indebted to her alone for his liberty: and, in conformity to the promise which he had given on the subject, he, at the same time, demanded her daughter in marriage for the Prince of Conti, who, being also present on the occasion, ratified the demand, by making a tender of his services to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The Dutchess replied, that, however great the honour was which their Highnesses proposed to confer on her daughter, she could not wish her to receive it, if the Prince of Condé's repugnance to the measure was such as many persons believed

* Charles Amadeus, Duke de Nemours: he was killed in 1650.

believed it to be, and that she should ever prefer his satisfaction to the advancement of her daughter ; that, with respect to the promise which he had given her, she well knew that engagements entered into in a prison are not binding ; that she, therefore, readily released him from his, leaving it at his option, either to fulfill it or not, as he should think best ; that, for her part, she should always esteem it a great advantage to have been able to serve a person of his rank and merit, and that, even if she should not receive the honour which he offered her, she should still continue equally attached to his interests. But all that the Dutchess de Chevreuse said served only to induce the Prince of Condé to renew his engagements, and that even with such vehement protestations, that she thought them sincere, although he had not, nevertheless, the least intention to execute them. For he now looked upon a breach of promise of this kind, as a matter of but little consequence, and his sole reason for manifesting so much eagerness for this alliance was, that, well knowing that it was dreaded by the court, he was desirous that they should solicit him to break it off, in order to make them purchase his compliance at a very dear rate.

The Dutchess de Chevreuse, on her side, had appeared thus indifferent to the proposal, solely because she was sensible that the Prince of Condé had not yet had time to re-accommodate matters with the court ; and that, by thus renewing his engagements with her, after all that she had said to him, he would render it very difficult for him to dispense with an adherence to his promises.

The report of the approaching celebration of this marriage having been spread abroad, the Queen now clearly perceived that the Dutchess de Chevreuse had constantly deceived her ; neither was she much surprized at it ; for she had long suspected that lady, and had even acquainted the Cardinal with the doubts she entertained of her fidelity. That minister could not, at first, give credit to the suggestion ; but, when he became convinced of the truth of it, he swore that he would

would never again place a confidence in a woman of her character; at the same time making use of a most injurious appellation, the more plainly to express his sentiments concerning her.

The court was so well convinced of the danger of suffering a person of the character and abilities of the Dutchess de Chevreuse to gain admittance into the family of the Prince of Condé, which family, for their own advantage and for that of the Dutchess de Chevreuse, also, must espouse no other interests than those of that Prince; the court I say, had had such experience of what that lady might be capable of effecting in the family of Condé, that the ministers set every engine in motion, to prevent the intended alliance from taking place; and it was judged, also, that, should the Prince of Condé break through his connections with her, he would be deserted by the whole *Fronde*; which would prove an essential prejudice to his affairs. A negotiation was, accordingly, opened with the Prince of Condé, by Messrs. De Lyonne* and Servien, † with whom he chose to treat, rather than with M. le Tellier, ‡ on behalf of the court, into which his Highness eagerly entered, without once reflecting on the many protestations he had made to the Dutchess de Chevreuse, at the time of the renewal of his engagements with her.

On the side of the court, it had been resolved to sacrifice to him the government of Guyenne, and to give him hopes of that of Provence for the Prince of Conti, although they had not the least intention to fulfill those hopes.

The princess Palatine offered her services to the Queen in this negotiation. The Duke de la Rochefoucault entered into it, also, and that with the greatest alacrity; as he bore the most inveterate hatred to the *Fronde*.

* Hugh de Lyonne, Marquis de Berni, minister of state: he died in 1671.

† Abel Servien, Marquis de Sable, minister of state, and superintendant of the finances: he died in 1659.

‡ Michael le Tellier, minister of state: he died in the post of chancellor of France, in 1685.

Fronde. Thus, at the very same time that the ministers were employed in negotiating, on behalf of the court, with the Prince of Condé, they secretly treated, also, with all those of his party, for the purpose of detaching them from his interests.

The Dutchess de Longueville, on her side, being still at Stenai, where she had been obliged to remain, in order to complete the regulation of some concerns with the Spaniards, received the news of her brother's approaching marriage with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse with great sorrow; being apprehensive, that the mother and daughter would deprive her of all her credit with that brother, who was the only person of her family, over whom she possessed a real influence: but what affected her still more was, the idea of a person's being received into that family, who was both more beautiful, and younger than herself.

Although, at so great a distance, that Princess could not know, with any precision, in what state that negotiation then was, and whether it might be prudent so soon to discover the design, which had been formed by the Prince of Condé and herself; yet she, nevertheless, in order to induce a belief that she was equal to every thing which she undertook, ventured to write to Fuenfaldagne,* that she was about to set off for Paris, to break off this marriage, between the Prince of Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

The Duke de Noirmoutier, who was better acquainted with the Prince of Condé's real character than the rest, could never be prevailed on to take part in the negotiation between that Prince and the *Fronde*, nor even to return to Paris during the whole time of its being in agitation: for this reason, he acquainted the *Frondeurs*, that as he claimed no share in the great advantages and blessings, which they were about to reap, from their re-accommodation with the Prince of Condé, so neither would he engage with their party in this new connection, but that he would, nevertheless, ever continue attached to their cause, in case they should not,

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* M. de Fuenfaldagne, governor of the Low Countries.

in the sequel, find in this dazzling union all that they expected. He informed them, at the same time, of what the Dutchess de Longueville had written to Fuenfaldagne, which he had learnt from some women of that province, with whom he had, on different occasions, formed a kind of intimacy.

The *Frondeurs* began to entertain some suspicions of the Prince of Condé's sincerity, both on account of this intimation, given them by the Duke de Noirmoutier, and also as they observed that the application for the [dispensation] marriage licence had been delayed as long as possible: moreover, the Dutchess de Chevreuse having waited on the Dutchess de Longueville, on the very day of her return from Stenay, in order to shew her the greater respect, and that she might have the better opportunity of conversing with her in private, the Dutchess de Longueville, far from making her the least compliment whatever on the approaching marriage of her daughter, affected even to be totally silent on the subject.

It appeared, therefore, to the *Frondeurs*, not only that the Prince of Condé might, very probably, intend to break off that marriage, but also that, if such should be his design, it would not be in their power to prevent his carrying it into execution; that this, perhaps, was the sole reason which obliged him to quit the party of the *Fronde*; and that, not to make a sacrifice of all their hopes, they ought, of their own accord, to offer him their concurrence in that design, in case he should really have adopted it. The Coadjutor, accordingly, waited on the Prince of Condé, and acquainted him that, if he had the least repugnancy to his brother's marriage, he would undertake to break it off; that he would even engage to reconcile the Dutchess de Chevreuse to the circumstance, and, finally, that he would take upon himself the whole management of the affair.

The Prince of Condé neglected this opportunity of breaking off his brother's marriage with a good grace; whether it was that he had accomplished his treaty with the court, or that it was not yet concluded; whether he put no faith in what was said to him on the subject: in short, through a false policy, he declined accepting the

the expedient which was proposed to him : besides that, in other respects, he shewed such a neglect of the *Fronde*, that, when they expressed so much eagerness to procure an edict to be issued by the parliament, excluding all foreign Cardinals from the post of prime minister, and when the court party caused an addition to be made to that edict, whereby all Cardinals, natives of France, were to be equally excluded, he seemed to interest himself very little, both in the design of the *Fronde*, and in the opposition made by the Coadjutor, to the clause added by the court, and which was levelled against him, who, having manifested by the whole of his conduct, that he sought to obtain the dignity both of Cardinal and of prime minister, thereby made many persons his foes. For, in fact, how great soever the people's hatred to Cardinal Mazarin might be, they dreaded still more the Coadjutor's advancement to the ministry, than they did to see that post in the possession of his eminency : and it was very apparent, from the supineness and negligence, with which the Prince of Condé acted on this occasion, in support of the Coadjutor, that his motives were merely political, and that he gave himself very little concern about the event.

The Prince of Condé and the Dutchess de Longueville returned to Paris with the same disposition and manner of conduct, as had before rendered them so odious to the public, and had proved their ruin, without perceiving, or ever once imagining, that this conduct and disposition could be of the least prejudice to them, particularly the Dutchess de Longueville : and, although she was more desirous, than any one else, of an accommodation with the Queen, she determined, nevertheless, in effecting it, not to abate any thing of her natural haughtiness, and to give a specimen of her arrogance, even in her behaviour to that Princess.

She, accordingly, sent her Majesty a message, in like manner as a sister sovereign would have done, acquainting her with the hour at which she proposed to repair to the palace ; and, to crown the whole, she exceeded the time she had appointed by two or three hours ; which gave the Prince of Condé great uneasiness. But it must

be acknowledged that never was haughtiness so badly supported: for no sooner did she come into the Queen's presence, than she was seized with so violent a trembling, that any one would have imagined that she had had an ague upon her, and she was totally incapable of uttering two words together; insomuch that the Queen herself was obliged to revive her spirits; with which circumstance that Princess made herself very merry afterwards.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, who possessed a greater share of sense than the Dutchess de Longueville, being of opinion that her power was not so great as she fancied it to be, advised her to attempt to establish her credit with her brother, the Prince of Condé, and her husband, by pretending to each of them that she possessed an influence over the other; to negotiate between them, and to plan her scheme so cautiously, as to suffer them to be together but seldom, and for a very short time, lest they should discover her artifice; because, in fact, she was not upon good terms with either of them, and it was of great importance to her to keep them ignorant of that circumstance. But she, insensibly, adopted a quite contrary conduct to that which had been recommended to her by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and she carried matters with so high a hand towards her husband, that she found she could not support it without the aid of her brother, who she knew was not at all favourably disposed to her, as will be seen in the sequel.

The Prince of Condé studiously concealed his negotiation with the court, from the knowledge of the public; but the court suffered it to appear pretty plainly, with the view of prejudicing him in the opinion of the *Fronde*. The ministers spun out the treaty as much as possible, because the Prince of Condé's demands were exorbitant; and, before they would give him a definitive answer, they sought first to weaken his party, that he might not be in a situation to stand so much upon terms.

The Duke de Bouillon and M. de Turenne abandoned the Prince of Condé, on very slight prettexts, and they effected an accommodation with the court, on bet-

ter and more certain conditions, than those which that Prince had it in his power to offer them: which was the cause of their quitting his party, having, moreover, just reason to complain of his conduct towards them on several occasions.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, who had of late discovered, that Mademoiselle de Longueville was in a condition to oppose her mother-in-law, had also judged it necessary to keep upon good terms with her: even before the return of the Dutchess de Longueville, he had already begun to visit her pretty frequently, and to give her an account of every thing that passed, constantly insinuating to her, upon all these occasions, that it was requisite that she should be reconciled to her mother-in-law, and, engaging, not only to effect that accommodation, but, also, to maintain and preserve it.

He gave the same advice to the Dutchess de Longueville: but, as she was influenced solely by her pride, and as she fancied that she had attained the summit of dignity and power, she would give no ear to the suggestions of the Duke de la Rochefoucault: besides, that so long a time had elapsed since she had seen him, that she even began to entertain some sentiments of aversion to him. Insomuch that, instead of giving a favourable reception to her daughter-in-law, when she waited on her, she looked upon her as a person who had incurred her resentment; although Mademoiselle de Longueville had never offended her in any manner whatever, unless it were by constantly manifesting the utmost respect for the King and for the Queen. For, with regard to the many indirect attempts which that Princess had made, at different times, to detach her father from his connections with those parties, which were in opposition to the court, the Dutchess de Longueville could not bear her any ill will on that score; because she had never come to the knowledge of that part of her conduct. But her chief reason for treating her daughter-in-law with so much disdain and harshness was, that she did not possess an equal degree of power with herself. As Mademoiselle de Longueville perceived, from this specimen, the insults and ill treatment which she might expect

pest to meet with in the sequel, this circumstance greatly contributed to induce her to enter into an affair, the particulars of which I am about to relate; being persuaded, moreover, that the end which she proposed to herself therein, was the true interest of her father; and which she had never been able, hitherto, as I have before observed, to make him rightly comprehend.

The Duke de Longueville, together with those places which had been restored to him in Normandy, had recovered almost all the credit which he had possessed in that province before his imprisonment; a credit which rendered him very powerful, and which made it appear necessary to the court, to detach him from the party of the Prince of Condé. But they knew not in what manner to proceed, to effect this purpose: because they imagined that he was blindly devoted to the family of Condé; and they were very apprehensive, that every attempt to dissolve the close connection between him and this family, must prove ineffectual, from a persuasion of the great influence which the Dutchess, his wife, possessed over him, whatever incidents might sometimes happen to set them at variance.

Amongst the agents, whom the Duke had employed in his affairs, was a person, who was totally devoted to the court, but he had lately dismissed him from his service; and the Dutchess, also, had employed another, who was that same Priolo, by whose representations, respecting the promise made by Cardinal Mazarin, with regard to the government of Havre, the particulars of which have been already related, the Duke was induced to enter into the party of the *Fronde*. The court, therefore, knew not to whom to apply, on this occasion: and, moreover, they were very fearful that, the dread of offending the Prince of Condé being so universal, and their own party being so greatly dispirited and reduced, no one would be prevailed on to undertake this commission; or, even if any person should accept of it, that it might be with the view of deceiving them only in the sequel. At length, M. Servien bethought himself of Mademoiselle de Longueville, who he knew bore no great affection to her mother-in-law.

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That minister had been admitted into the number of her friends, ever since the time of her journey to Munster; and on the pretext of this intimacy, he had paid her a visit, on the occasion of the Princes releasement from prison. He proposed to her, that she should endeavour to prevail on her father to re-accommodate matters with the Queen in so effectual a manner, that nothing should, in future, be capable of dissolving their union.

She readily undertook this commission, and her success therein surpassed even the most sanguine expectations. But Mademoiselle de Longueville advised M. Servien not to mention a word on the subject to her father, till the strong prepossession, which every one, at that time, entertained of the power of the Prince of Condé, should be a little abated, during which interval, she hoped to be able to prepare matters for this negotiation; promising to acquaint him when the time should be favourable for entering upon the business.

In the midst of all the authority which the Duke de Longueville might possess, he constantly found himself burdened with the support of his brothers-in-law, who were desirous of availing themselves of the power, which his governments gave him, without ever making him any return for the advantages, which they derived from their connection with him; and this was their customary mode of conduct towards every one, who would submit to be thus treated.

The Dutchess de Longueville, on her side, appeared to be infatuated to the highest degree, with the idea of the prosperous state of her affairs. She was, at first, so firmly persuaded, that she should acquire a greater share of credit than the Prince of Condé, that she could not imagine from what cause it could possibly have happened, that he should ever have possessed more than her. However, in a short time afterwards, she began to entertain a less exalted notion of her importance: but this produced no alteration in her behaviour towards her husband; for she sent him word, that, if he should venture to find fault with any part of her conduct, she would render him the most miserable of mankind.

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As the *Frondeurs* had conceived an opinion that he would never shine in any other sphere, than that of a partizan of the Prince of Condé, and as they knew that it was a capital crime, in the eyes of his wife and of his brother-in-law, to manifest any attention for him, they held him in very slight estimation; and they carried on very little intercourse with him, especially the Coadjutor; as well for the reasons which I have here related, as through the shame which he felt, for having contributed to his imprisonment, after having been so highly favoured and protected by him. He constantly told him, however, that he would take an opportunity to have a long conversation with him on the state of affairs: but that promise he never fulfilled.

Such then was the situation of the Duke de Longueville, at the period in which his daughter undertook to effect an accommodation between him and the court; and, as that Princess entertained very little fear of those whom she disliked, she did not, in the least, dread the resentment of the Condé family, although she came in for a considerable share in the menaces of her mother-in-law. What emboldened her still more was, that she no longer resided under the same roof with her, having returned to her own house, some time before the Dutchesse de Longueville's arrival at Paris, and having made that the place of her abode ever afterwards.

She began this negotiation with her father, by flattering him to a great degree, by assuming, afterwards, the liberty of talking to him on the subject of his most important concerns, and by confidently answering for the success of every measure which she proposed, and which she knew would prove most agreeable to him. But, the better to dispose matters to a successful issue, she first endeavoured to remove his apprehensions of the great power of the house of Condé, by affecting to lament that the Prince of Condé was the only person, who did not foresee the dangers into which he was about to precipitate himself, and by demonstrating to him (the Duke) that they frequently presumed on their power, without the least foundation; that their imprisonment was a convincing proof of the justice of that remark; and that, even when

when they least presumed thereon, they still affected so to do, in order to impose upon the public by that artifice.

She added, that they commonly hastened their ruin, by their breach of faith towards all those, who had rendered them any service; because that, very unfortunately for the Prince of Condé, and for every one, also, who had occasion to treat with him, he considered all honour, as consisting in bravery and intrepidity alone, and by no means in a scrupulous adherence to the engagements into which he might enter; that no one dared to reprehend his conduct in this respect, nor even to warn him that this was the cause why every one abandoned him; that it was, thus, impossible, that he should ever alter his mode of conduct; finally, that he was the only person who did not perceive the dangerous consequences, which must result to him therefrom, and which he had even already experienced: because no one, but himself, was ignorant of the cause of it, to which he, consequently, could not attribute any of the misfortunes which, at any time, happened to him. She further suggested to her father, that it would, therefore, be more honourable to reconcile himself to the court at this time, whilst the Prince of Condé yet appeared to be in a situation to support himself, than when that Prince's affairs should be on the decline; that, as his Highness had always effected his negotiations, without communicating them to him, he had it now in his power to render him the like; and that, with respect to him, if he was no longer held in estimation, it was solely because such was his own pleasure; that, immediately upon his release, he must inevitably become the absolute master of the whole province of Normandy; that it was beneath the dignity of a person in his station, to acknowledge any other (master) than the King himself; that he would appear to great disadvantage in a party, in which the utmost he could expect, must be to hold the fourth rank; that even the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor would have more credit in Paris, than he could expect to acquire; and that, by continuing in his present connections, he would, infallibly, embarrass himself with a number of persons,

persons, who could, by no means, maintain an union amongst themselves.

In consequence of these, and similar suggestions, or rather of the state in which affairs then were, or, if it must be so, of the kind of treatment which the Duke de Longueville had experienced, he suddenly adopted a conduct, so opposite to that which he had hitherto pursued, that he no longer seemed to be the same person; upon every occasion firmly resisting the attempts of all those, who endeavoured to set themselves above him; and to subject him to their caprices.

Soon after this long conversation between Mademoiselle de Longueville and her father, she informed M. Servien, that the time was now favourable for opening the negotiation, which had been determined on between them; and that she had made all the necessary preparations: on the receipt of which intelligence, that minister immediately entered upon the business, and soon completed it, to the full satisfaction both of himself and the court. But he intimated to the Duke de Longueville, that the Queen could not place a thorough confidence in him, so long as his son * should remain at Mouron,† in the hands of the Prince of Condé. He also pressed Mademoiselle de Longueville to urge the matter strongly to her father; which she did with such effect, that, in spite of all the efforts of the Dutchess de Longueville, to prevent the departure of her son from Mouron, the Duke would not be satisfied, at any rate, till he had been delivered up to him.

As these proceedings of the Duke de Longueville were more consonant, at that time, to the supposed character of his daughter, than to his own, the Dutchess de Longueville imputed to her instigations, the whole conduct of that Prince: and it was this circumstance which gave her so great an aversion to Mademoiselle de Longueville; never once reflecting, that she herself was the sole cause of every disagreeable incident which happened to her; and that she had subjected herself to them, as much by

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* John-Louis-Charles d'Orleans, eldest son of the Duke de Longueville.

† A strongly fortified town.

the manner in which she had constantly behaved towards the Duke de Longueville, as by all those haughty airs and extravagancies, which had obliged numbers of persons to complain of her to her husband.

The court, ever watchful, having discovered the aversion which the Dutchess de Longueville, with so little reason, entertained for her daughter-in-law, made use of this circumstance to draw her into a snare, of which she had not the least suspicion, although the design was, nevertheless, sufficiently apparent.

As every proposal made by her daughter-in-law was odious to her, they (the court) persuaded her, that she had advised the Duke, her father, to oblige her to accompany him into Normandy, and, in case of her refusal to comply with his requisition, to cause her to be conducted thither by force. The Dutchess was greatly alarmed at the intelligence of this design, to prevent the execution of which, she caused herself to be, at all times, strictly guarded; and, in the midst of her terror, she was obliged to have recourse to the Prince of Condé, to dissuade her husband from his intention of carrying her with him into Normandy.

Had she been properly informed of the true state of matters, she would have known, that what she desired with so much eagerness, might be obtained without such great difficulty; seeing that nothing was further from her husband's thoughts, than to carry her with him, and that Mademoiselle de Longueville, together with all those other persons, who acted in opposition to her, dreaded that event still more than she herself did, from an apprehension that, should she accompany her husband in this journey, she might re-assume her former influence over him, and might again involve him in fresh affairs, fatal both to his glory and to his peace.

The Prince of Condé, therefore, at the request of the Dutchess de Longueville, undertook to speak to the Duke on the subject. But, as he was more serviceable to him in his affairs, than his sister, he determined to sacrifice her to him; and, having, accordingly, obtained a promise from the Duke, that he would not compel her to go with him into Normandy, which promise was granted

ed him with very little difficulty, he consented to the proposal of his brother-in-law, that she should retire to Bourges, after having both agreed that her conduct was such, as would not admit of her continuing any longer at Paris. But, as no time was fixed for her departure for Bourges, which journey was much more disagreeable to her, than that to Normandy, in company with her husband, would have been, she still retained some hopes that affairs might take another turn.

Immediately as it had been determined that the Dukes de Longueville should not go to Normandy, Mademoiselle de Longueville, at the urgent solicitations of the court, pressed her father to hasten his journey; which, through her persuasions, he accordingly did; and, from the very instant of his arrival in that province, he found his power there greater than it had ever been before.

During all these transactions, scarcely a day passed, in which some or other of the Prince of Condé's partizans did not desert him: but the court could not be satisfied till the Duke of Orleans should, also, have abandoned him; as, so long as he should remain connected with him, the defection of all the rest, would prove of very little advantage to the court.

The ministers, who still remained about the Queen's person, formed a scheme by which they effected this design. The stratagem which they made use of was, to sow division amongst the different parties; by which means they rendered abortive the negotiation which the Prince of Condé sought to have concluded with the Queen. In fact, this unforeseen artifice served to plunge the Prince of Condé into a variety of difficulties and dangers, from which he was never able entirely to extricate himself afterwards. The particulars are as follow.

M. Servien acquainted the Prince of Condé, that, he constantly manifested a great distrust of the promises of the Queen and of Cardinal Mazarin, and as they were desirous of shewing him, with how much sincerity they wished for a reconciliation with him, they had determined to convince him of it, in a different manner, than

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merely by protestations alone; that he might perceive the esteem which they entertained, not only for him, but for those also whom he honoured with his friendship. The Prince of Condé expressed much satisfaction in this promise, without requiring any further explanation of its tendency.

On the Wednesday in Passion Week, * the council being convened, and the Duke of Orleans also being present, the chancellor Seguier, who was supposed to be in exile, the first president Molé, who was imagined, at the time, to be engaged in the duties of his office at the Palais, and Chavigni, † came, very unexpectedly, to take their places amongst the rest: all these three persons were known to be intimate friends of the Prince of Condé, particularly the last, who was devoted to him in the highest degree possible. But they had each of them been obliged to sign an engagement, previous to their admission into the ministry, to support the interests of the Queen and of Cardinal Mazarin, preferably to all others.

The Queen informed the Duke of Orleans, that she had placed them in the council, and that she had taken the seals from Chateauneuf, and had given them to the first president; which highly incensed the Duke; and he replied that, as he had the honour to be uncle to the King and lieutenant-general of the regency, no change of this nature ought to have been made in the council without his participation, and that he would not return thither again, till those appointments should first be rescinded.

The Prince of Condé, on his side, was struck with astonishment, being doubtful whether these changes were for his advantage, or otherwise. However, he retired with the Duke of Orleans, declaring that he could not be satisfied with what had been done, if his Royal Highness was not so likewise. But, when he had reflected a little on the matter, and had taken the opinions of his friends, he perceived that these alterations were prejudicial to his interests, and that they had been made with the view of rendering him suspected: he was, therefore, desirous

* In the year 1651.

† One of the ministers of state.

desirous of justifying himself, and, having repaired, for that purpose, to the Hotel de Chevreuse, he, with the most terrible oaths, denied having had any knowledge, whatsoever, of the above recent changes in the council : but all was insufficient to procure him credit, and his oaths only served to inspire every one present with horror, because they were all judged to be false : which supposition, however, on this occasion, did him great injustice.

The Duke of Orleans, the *Fronde*, and the public in general, were all firmly persuaded that the Prince of Condé had been concerned in the late transactions ; there being, in their opinion, not the least appearance that the Queen, confined as she was, like a prisoner, in the Palais Royal, would have dared to have entered upon an affair of this kind, without having previously concerted the necessary measures with that Prince.

Some time afterwards, a meeting was held at the Orleans palace, on the subject of the Duke of Orleans's displeasure against the Queen. The Duke of Beaufort, as usual, spoke very badly, the Coadjutor offered several very violent proposals, and, amongst others, that they should incite the people to make a kind of attack, with stones, upon the Palais Royal. Upon which, when the Prince of Condé was requested to give his opinion, he answered, in apparent derision of them, that he was quite unacquainted with the war of flints, and that he must take instructions from those gentlemen, in what manner it was to be carried on : which answer served to encrease still more the distrust which was entertained of him.

The ministers, who negotiated with that Prince, no longer offered him the government of Provence for his brother ; and he found that he must drop all his other pretensions : because, having become suspected by the party in opposition to the court, he was obliged to accept of whatever terms he could obtain.

A negotiation was afterwards opened with the Duke of Orleans, in order to appease his resentment, and he was prevailed on to consent, that those persons should continue in the council, on condition that M. de Châteauneuf should be again put in possession of the seals, and

and that he should remain in his post of minister of state. The court insinuated that it was in compliment to the Prince of Condé, that they had taken the seals from M. Mole: in consequence of which, as they foresaw and intended, the first president became, instead of the zealous and faithful friend, which he had hitherto been to the Prince of Condé, his most inveterate foe; and which circumstance did infinite prejudice to that Prince's affairs, in the sequel, through the great credit which the first president possessed at that time.

The court, afterwards, requested the Duke of Orleans's consent to the rupture of the marriage of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, which they easily obtained from him: and it was commonly supposed, that his ready compliance on this occasion arose from his apprehensions lest the house of Condé should become too powerful, should this marriage take place.

In the holy week, the Duke of Orleans renewed his attendance upon the Queen, at the Palais Royal, whither her Majesty sent for the Prince of Conti, and ordered him not to be in a hurry to conclude his marriage with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

The Prince of Condé and the Dutchess de Longueville had not thought proper to entrust him with the knowledge of their design, to break off the marriage; as that Prince was, of late, become passionately fond of his mistress: but they related to him, a number of circumstances so greatly to her disadvantage, that he now became more eager to receive the Queen's prohibition, than he had ever been to espouse that young Princess.

This excuse, of the Queen's prohibitory orders, wore a very bad appearance, seeing that she was totally destitute of all power, at that time, to enforce obedience to her commands; and as, in the present state of affairs, that alliance having been projected, not only without her Majesty's consent, but also against her inclination, it might easily have been carried into execution, notwithstanding those orders.

The Prince of Condé sent the president Viole to the Dutchess de Chevreuse, to acquaint her with the Queen's orders, and to assure her, at the same time, that, in spite

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of her Majesty's prohibition, the affair would be postponed only, and not entirely laid aside; and that his brother and he would wait upon her, to explain themselves more fully to her on the subject. But, in debating on the measures necessary to be taken, for the execution of the above promise, the Prince of Condé observed to his brother, that he alone was under an obligation to take that step, as being the most interested party; and that, for his part, he should never be able to prevail on himself to visit either the Dutchesse or Mademoiselle de Chevreuse again, from a conviction of the great confusion and embarrassment into which he should be thrown by such an interview.

The Prince of Conti, with the view of excusing himself from undertaking this business, told him that, being his eldest brother, the matter concerned him most particularly, respecting those kind of apologies; that with regard to the embarrassment into which he was apprehensive of being plunged on the occasion, his must be still greater, as, being the most interested party, he was, consequently, the most deeply engaged in the affair; and the upshot of this conversation between the two Princes was that, having first turned the whole affair into compliments, and those compliments afterwards into jests and pleasantry, they made it the subject of their merriment only; and, finally, although they had sent a message to the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, that they would enter into a personal explanation with her, yet they neither of them kept that promise, nor did they ever visit her afterwards.

And now a strife arose between the two parties, which of them should first cause the guard of citizens to be withdrawn, by which the King and Queen were detained prisoners, in a manner, in the Palais Royal.

Thus, therefore, the Prince of Condé broke through all his connections with the *Frondeurs*, and that, too, with the greatest unconcern, on account of the contempt in which he held them: he considered them as the most despicable of mankind, and as being, consequently, incapable of doing him the least prejudice whatever. But what is very surprizing in this affair, and is scarcely credible of a person of his known courage and resolution, is that

that those very men, of whose power he had manifested so little apprehension, appeared to him, in the course of the same week, to be so formidable, although no incident had happened during the time, which could justify this alteration in his sentiments, that, being upon bad terms with them, he no longer thought himself secure in any place whatever.

The Prince of Condé shewed much more judgment in this dread of the power of the *Frondeurs*, than he had done in his contempt of them. For, no sooner had he dropped his connections with them, than an event happened, which had been universally foreseen, and of which he had never entertained the least notion, although he might naturally have expected it; it happened, I say, that the *Frondeurs* accommodated matters with the court, and entered into an union against him; which they effected with very little difficulty; as the Queen was much more desirous of ridding herself of that Prince than of them.

The hatred which the *Frondeurs* in general, and particularly the Coadjutor and the Dutchess de Chevreuse, had conceived against the Prince of Condé and the Dutchess de Longueville, rose to such a height, as to make them forget all their other enmities, even that which they bore to Cardinal Mazarin, with whom they commenced a fresh negotiation, without appearing to be discouraged by the little benefit, which they had derived from their former treaties with him. But in this there was a clause, of a nature so truly extraordinary, that it well deserves to be recorded; which was, that the Coadjutor should be at liberty, on all occasions, to inveigh against the conduct of the Cardinal, in order that he might be enabled to maintain the credit which he had acquired with the people, and, by that means, to render his eminency the more effectual service.

By this new treaty, it was determined again to seize the person of the Prince of Condé. As he no longer came to the Palais Royal, on account of the distrust which he had conceived of the designs of the court, they, therefore, could not take any measures for seizing him there.

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The Queen, who put no great confidence in that cabal, told them that she would not cause him to be secured at the Hotel de Condé, lest that action should give rise to a tumult in Paris, and should even be productive of much bloodshed. However, a party of the guards were ordered to take post near the Fauxbourg Saint Germain.

The Prince of Condé, who was constantly on his guard, retired, during the night, to St. Maur, and he seemed no otherwise to have profited by the several imprisonments which he had undergone, than by becoming more distrustful than he formerly had been, seeing that he still retained all his other imprudencies.

He sent Vigneul, to acquaint the Dutchess de Longueville with the place of his retreat, and to inform her that it was not at all proper that she should repair thither to him: but, in spite of this intimation, and although one of her cheeks was much swelled at the time, she, nevertheless, immediately departed for St. Maur, with the sole view of supporting the reputation which she had acquired, of possessing great credit with her brother. She afterwards complained, that, ill as she was, she had been obliged to take that step, in compliance with his Highness's urgent solicitations, in order the better to persuade the public of the confidence which he placed in her.

The departure * of the Prince of Condé occasioned a very great disturbance, and every one now manifested of what party he was, by repairing either to the Palais Royal, or to St. Maur; and those who went to the one place no longer attended at the other. But it was observed, that the number of those who repaired to St. Maur was very small, which circumstance gave great uneasiness to the Prince of Condé; and, when he reflected, that but three months before, the whole kingdom had favoured his cause, he was quite astonished at this alteration.

The great fear which had been, at one time, entertained of the Prince of Condé was now entirely dispelled. This was one of the most fatal consequences which had

* In the year 1651.

had attended his imprisonment; and, except during the first week after his releasement, the people never resumed that extreme terror, with which he had formerly inspired them, in spite of all his subsequent attempts to effect that purpose.

On the day after the Prince of Condé had retired from Paris, the Prince of Conti went to the parliament, and informed the assembly, that his brother had sent him, to give them an account of the reasons by which he had been induced to quit the city, and that, if he had not been thus expeditious in his retreat, he should again, have been put under an arrest; that this was an effect of the hatred which Cardinal Mazarin had long borne to him, because he had opposed that minister's return; and that, although the Cardinal was far removed from the court, yet his genius still continued to govern there, in the persons of Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, who were totally devoted to him; that the Prince, his brother, could no longer place any confidence in the Queen, nor could he return, with safety, to the Palais Royal, so long as those persons should remain there, and that it was absolutely requisite that they should be dismissed as well as the Cardinal.

This harangue did not altogether make that impression on the parliament which the Prince of Condé had expected. Nevertheless, the Prince of Conti attended at several of the subsequent meetings of that assembly, and constantly made use of nearly the same arguments.

The Marshal de Grammont waited on the Prince of Condé from the Queen, to learn the subject of his dissatisfaction. That Prince complained that a design had been formed to seize his person; declaring that he could not be safe till the three ministers should have retired; and that, immediately upon their departure, he would return to Paris, and would pay his respects to the King and to the Queen-Regent.

The Queen, on the other hand, insisted that the Prince of Condé had created all this disturbance, for the sole purpose of obtaining some new advantages, for himself; that he was insatiable, and that the more was granted him, the more he required; that it was but very lately

that the government of Guyenne had been conferred on him, and that he still wanted something further, but that she was determined to be no longer his dupe, whatever course he might think proper to take. And, as she did not, at that time, think herself obligated to dismiss her ministers, she also declared, that the whims and caprices of the Prince of Condé should never induce her to remove those who were of her council; that this was merely a pretext, and that, even should they be dismissed, that Prince would find some other subject, whereon to ground fresh complaints.

Although the Cardinal's advice was not always followed whilst he continued absent from court, yet he still possessed a very extensive authority; and, as all applications for favours, and in all other cases of importance, were constantly made to him, this matter, also, was communicated to him, respecting which he wrote word to the Queen, that it was absolutely necessary that she should cause the three ministers to withdraw themselves, in order to deprive the Prince of Condé of every cause for complaint, and to leave him totally without excuse, by making it apparent that his design was only to create a confusion in the state. So that, when it was least expected, the Queen exiled those three ministers to their estates: after which she acquainted the Prince of Condé, that she had yielded to satisfy him in that point also; and that she hoped, after the many concessions which she had made to him, that he would no longer delay to return to his duty.

As the Prince of Condé had never imagined, that the Queen would consent to dismiss those three ministers, neither had he once deliberated, on what answer he should return, in case his demand should be complied with. So that he could never afterwards devise, or alledge any further pretext for his dissatisfaction. It was at that time supposed, that the Cardinal's complaisance on this occasion proceeded, solely, from a desire to render the Prince of Condé still more criminal, in the eyes of the public, in case that he should not make a proper return for the favour shewn him: but this was far from being that minister's principal motive: he had others,
still

still more essential, by which he had been induced to act in the manner above related.

The Queen had acquainted him, that M. Servien had gone too far in his negotiation with the Prince of Condé, with respect to the promise which he made him of the government of Guyenne: and M. de Lyonne, the nephew of M. Servien, having learnt that Cardinal Mazarin entertained that opinion of his uncle, and imagining perhaps, that it had been suggested to him by M. le Tellier, secretly intimated to his eminency, that that minister had of late acquired too great an ascendant over the Queen: which intelligence gave rise to many reflections in the Cardinal's mind: besides, that he was much displeased that, during his absence, so many affairs had been transacted without his participation.

On the other hand, the Dutchess de Chevreuse, the Coadjutor, and the rest of the *Frondeurs*, painted in such glaring colours the Prince of Condé's ingratitude towards them, and his breach of faith, relative to the marriage of his brother, and, in general, to all the other promises which he had made them, that they rendered him odious to a degree scarcely to be conceived.

He was abandoned by every one: none would put the least confidence in him: those only remained attached to his interests, who could not disengage themselves with honour. He now found that the breach of promise, of which he had been so frequently guilty, was not of a nature to be jested on, as he had considered it to be. For he had never, hitherto, made any of those profitable reflections, by which he was, afterwards, led to practise, with such strictness, those solid virtues, of which he was ignorant of the very name at that time.

As that Prince well knew in what manner the *Frondeurs* continually reviled him, he, in return, conducted himself with as little ceremony towards them; and declared, that the Dutchess de Chevreuse had advised him to assume the Regency. Although she positively maintained that this proposal came from himself, every one gave credit to the assertion of the Prince of Condé: for as he was, at that time, much more powerful than her, he might with ease have taken the regency into his own hands,

hands, had he been so inclined, and, as she was much better versed in affairs than him, there is great reason to believe that she suggested this counsel to him. Neither does it appear what could possibly induce him to reject it: for he could not obtain any advantages by an accommodation, which could be put in competition with those which he would derive from the possession of the Regency. But that Prince manifested so little forecast in his affairs, in consequence of the trouble and confusion in which he found himself involved, and of the too great confidence which he placed in his own conduct, that he neglected, after his retreat to St. Maur, to secure the assistance of the Count de Carces, who possessed an uncontrollable authority in Provence, whilst he might have effected that design with the most ease, and he never once thought of attempting it, till two days after Carces had entered into an engagement with the court. But, as it has been already observed, it seemed that heaven, ever watchful over the welfare of France and propitious to the King and to the Queen-Regent, constantly rendered that Prince blind to his real interests, so long as they continued in opposition to his duty.

In the mean time, the Duke of Orleans still remained highly irritated. He was the avowed enemy of Cardinal Mazarin, and was much dissatisfied with the Queen and the Prince of Condé, ever since those new ministers had been admitted into the council, without his participation. Actuated by this spirit of resentment he so effectually balanced the two parties, by his discontent, joined with his natural uncertainty, together with that of the parliament, that he deprived them both of all their power, even without retaining much for himself: and it was a common question, at that time, what was become of the royal authority, seeing that, the Queen-Regent having lost it, it did not appear to have passed into the hands of any one else.

After this, the Prince of Condé came several times in person to the parliament, and brought with him a number of armed men, who stationed themselves in the great hall of the Palais; and the Queen, also, sent thither whole companies of the guards, with the view of providing

ing for the safety of the Coadjutor, so great was the alteration which had taken place in the different interests.

In one of these assemblies, a greater number of soldiers having attended than usual, the first president Molé observed, that it was very strange, that the place which was set apart for the administration of justice, should thus be converted into a place of arms; and added that, for the purpose of re-establishing affairs in their due state of order and tranquillity, and of causing those armed men to retire, it would be proper, that each of the members present should undertake to dismiss those who were known to him.

The Coadjutor went to the spot where the tipstaves are stationed, to dismiss the soldiers, in order to satisfy the first president; and the Duke de la Rochefoucault followed him, as if with the intention of causing those of the Prince of Condé's party to retire. But it was only for the purpose of shutting the door against the Coadjutor, who had gone out into the hall, and was in imminent danger, both from the soldiers of the Prince's party, and also from the populace, who were violently incensed against him, because they supposed him to be attached to the interests of Cardinal Mazarin.

The Duke de Brissac, who had taken notice of all that passed, rose from his seat, to open the door to the Coadjutor, that he might return into the assembly, and he told the Duke de la Rochefoucault, that, were they in any other place, he would give him a hundred kicks, as he was not worthy of being fought with: they afterwards returned to their places, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, gripping the hand of the Coadjutor and of the Duke de Brissac, said to them, in a half whisper, 'I would have strangled you, had it been in my power.' Upon which the Coadjutor replied, calling him by the name which the *Fronde* had given him, 'Do not be so warm, friend La Franchise, nothing can happen betwixt you and I; seeing that you are a coward, and that I am a priest.' Those who were present at this conversation, endeavoured to abate the vehemence of the parties, but without effect: and all that they could do, was to put an end to it by separating them.

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Notwithstanding all the spirit which the Prince of Condé possessed, he met with continual rebuffs in the parliament; and the first president, who was no longer his friend, constantly reprehended him in the most public manner, asking him why he did not wait upon the Queen, and whether he meant to set up altar against altar.

During all these assemblies of the parliament, the Prince of Condé still continued to treat with the court, but the terms they offered him were little to his advantage. It was the custom of the court, at that time, to reduce every transaction to the form of a negotiation.

The Prince of Condé, for his part, earnestly wished for an accommodation. He hated all party connections, and he well knew that he was not qualified for them. But the Dutchesse de Longueville, who perceived that she was about to be exiled to Bourges, in conformity to the promise which had been made to her husband, was desirous of war, in order that the Prince of Condé might repair to his government; and in hopes that she might be more serviceable to him in war than in peace, and that, as the Duke de Longueville would not accompany him to Guyenne, he would no longer be so much considered by the Prince of Condé, to her prejudice.

The Duke de la Rochefoucault, also, entertained the same sentiments, because he was desirous, at all events, to retire from Paris; being apprehensive lest a Prince, with whose character he was little acquainted, should cause him to be assassinated, or that the *Frondeurs* should procure him to be beaten. So that the Dutchesse de Longueville, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault were so importunate with the Prince of Condé, that they, at length, prevailed on him to comply with all that they required of him, although he had not the least esteem, or friendship for either of them.

As they were thoroughly acquainted with his disposition, they availed themselves of his two chief foibles, of which the one was an over attachment to his interest, and the other, the vanity of imagining that his power was at all times greatly dreaded, and that the court must keep on good terms with him at all events.

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They, therefore, insinuated to him, that the Queen was very apprehensive lest he should form a party, and that if he should take any step which might give her reason to think that such was his intention, or if he should feign a design to repair to Guyenne, the court would immediately offer him his own terms. So that he easily suffered himself to be persuaded into that belief.

He, therefore, made preparations for his departure, and he previously sent his sister to Bourges, according to the promise he had given her husband.

Mademoiselle de Longueville had been very ill used by her mother-in-law, and the Prince of Condé, at the time that she had never undertaken any thing against them; and now, that she appeared to be totally devoted to the court, and that she was one of the first to wait on the Queen, the Prince of Condé was very assiduous in his attendance on her: he gave her an account of all his affairs; and, by a thousand acts of complaisance, exerted himself to the utmost to engage her in his interests. This, as well as several other circumstances of a more important nature, sufficiently evinces that, at this period of time, those who were the least subjected to the family of Condé, were the most regarded by them.

The interested and unseasonable flatteries, which that Prince lavished on Mademoiselle de Longueville, produced no very favourable effect on her. Her conscience, her judgment, and the interests of her father, all forbad her to be either deceived, seduced, or corrupted by them.

As at that time, all affairs were regulated by the deliberations of the parliament, the Princes, and all those who were interested therein, constantly attended the meetings of that assembly. The Duke of Orleans, who spoke admirably well on all occasions, frequently appeared there. The Prince of Condé, who was destitute of all the requisite qualities for haranguing in public, and who was, moreover, greatly confused with the apprehension of the storms which he saw approaching, made a less advantageous figure there; and he succeeded solely in repartee.

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In the mean time, the Queen remarked, with little concern, the small degree of credit which she possessed, in expectation that, as the period of the King's coming of age was near at hand, she should therein find an end to all her troubles, and the abasement of her enemies. Ever since the dismissal of Messrs. Le Tellier, Servien, and Lyonne, she had suffered Messrs. Châteauneuf and De Villeroi * to govern her, in like manner as the others had done, although these latter had betrayed her, in concert with the Dutchess de Chevreuse.

As soon as they found themselves alone in the council, they prevailed on her to issue a declaration, by which she engaged never to recall the Cardinal, without perceiving how far she might thereby prejudice her authority. It is true that it was imagined, at that time, that the Queen took this step with his eminency's consent. But a letter has since appeared from him to the Count de Brienne, in which he complains of it with great bitterness, and appears to be highly offended on the occasion.

The Coadjutor, being now totally at a loss what conduct to pursue, and perceiving that neither of the parties were well affected to him, took it in his head to assume a new tone. He declared his intention to retire from all public business, and to amuse himself, in future, with his birds alone. He did not mean, however, to be credited, and, on the contrary, he was desirous of inducing a belief, that a considerable degree of mystery was couched under this artifice. But, as truth will always discover itself, it was easily judged that the very method which he took to conceal his intentions, served only to make them more apparent than he imagined, and than he desired.

* Nicholas de Neuville, Duke de Villeroi, peer and marshal of France.

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
D U T C H E S S D E N E M O U R S.
P A R T T H E T H I R D.

TH E time of the King's coming of age being near at hand, the Prince of Condé plainly perceived, that his situation would afterwards be still more insecure than it had even hitherto been : but, as he was constantly infatuated with the idea of the great consternation, into which the court would be thrown by his departure, he determined to set out for Guyenne without delay.

He resolved, therefore, to absent himself from the ceremony of declaring the King to be of age, and directed his course towards Normandy, to a place where he had appointed a meeting with the Duke de Longueville, in order to try whether he could obtain any assistance from him in his designs.

But, perceiving that his endeavours were ineffectual, and that his brother-in-law inflexibly persisted in his attachment to the King, and a submission to his orders, and positively refused to return to Paris, he pursued his journey towards his government.

That Prince was so prepossessed with the notion that, upon the very first step he should take, the court would offer him a *carte blanche*, that he stopped at various places on his rout, at some of which he continued some time, in expectation of the arrival of couriers : but, finding that none came, he gave loose to his resentment against those at whose instigations he had undertaken this journey, and, uttering the most terrible invectives against the Prince of Conti, the Dutchess de Longueville,

gueville, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, he told them that they had engaged him in a very ridiculous business, but that they would be tired of it before him, and that they would desert him in the end.

The King having accomplished his thirteenth year on the 5th of September (1651) he appointed the seventh of the same month, for the performance of the ceremony of the declaration, for which purpose he repaired, as was customary, to the parliament. On that occasion, he returned thanks to the Queen, his mother, for her care of him during her regency; but he made no acknowledgements to the Duke of Orleans, although, in quality of lieutenant-general of the crown, he also had had a share in the regency, which circumstance gave great offence to the Duke. But the court feigned to be totally ignorant of his dissatisfaction, which many persons eagerly endeavoured to augment.

A short time before the conclusion of the regency, the seals had been taken from Châteauneuf, and had been given to the first president Molé. But, as it was impossible for the same person to execute the functions of both these offices, that of chancellor and that of first president, the seals were suffered to remain in the hands of the chancellor for a few days only. The superintendency of the finances, also, was taken from the President de Maisons, and was conferred on the Marquis de la Vieuville.

The court considered the above proceedings of the Prince of Condé as so many acts of hostility, and they caused a declaration against him to be drawn up, which was sent to the Duke of Orleans, for his approbation. He returned it with the alteration of two lines only: from whence it was imagined that he approved of the rest. Nevertheless, when this declaration was delivered to the parliament, he opposed it with the utmost vehemence; which greatly surprized the Queen and the ministers; but they were necessitated to bear with this, as well as with many other disagreeable circumstances.

The Coadjutor was nominated to the cardinalship; but few people imagined that this would have any effect: for it was easy to conceive that, after all that had passed, the court had no other intention than to deceive him with false hopes.

Immediately

Immediately after the Prince of Condé's departure, the court took the resolution to follow him, in order that he might not have leisure to regulate his affairs. The Queen was highly rejoiced, also, to have it in her power to extricate the King and herself from the state of imprisonment, in which they had long been detained in Paris, where they had never been in safety from the first commencement of the cabals of the *Fronde*.

The Prince of Condé passed through Berry, which province he caused to declare itself in his favour, as he did Guyenne, also, afterwards. But, immediately upon the King's approach, those provinces returned to their duty, with still greater alacrity than they had shewn in espousing the interests of the other party. The Duke de Rohan Chabot caused Angers, of which place he was governor, under the Prince of Condé, to declare for the court, and the Duke du Dognon did the same with respect to Brouage and Rochelle, under pretext of his obligations to the Duke de Brezé.

With regard to the Duke du Dognon, he was attacked merely for appearance sake, for he made not the least resistance. It is thought that, before he quitted Paris, he effected his accommodation with the court, by virtue of which he obtained a staff of marshal of France, as a compensation for his governments.

The Duke de Nemours followed the Prince of Condé to Guyenne, for no other reason than that he had embarked in his cause; for, in fact, he was not altogether satisfied with his conduct towards him.

The Prince de Tarente, without well knowing why, joined him just at the time when every one else was receding from his party. But, as gratitude was not the favourite virtue of the Princes of the house of Condé, they manifested but a small degree of it for a man, who came without either troops or places at his command, which might be serviceable to their party. All that the Prince of Condé said, when he heard that he was coming, was: 'What shall we do with Tarente! who could send him to us!'

This Prince was not more fortunate in the sequel. For, he and the Duke de la Rochefoucault having laid siege

siege to Coignac, and the bridge having broken down after a part of their troops had crossed the river, they with regret saw themselves unable to prevent the King's forces from defeating all those of theirs that had passed over: in consequence of which they were constrained to raise the siege.

The Prince of Condé reproached them in the sharpest terms on the occasion, telling them, amongst other things, that they had not been able to take Coignac, whereas the very shadow and the boot of Marfin would have effected it in an instant. What gave that Prince so much uneasiness for having failed in his design on Coignac was, that he had hoped, by the possession of that place, to secure himself, at all times, a retreat out of the province; and, moreover, that he had engaged, as soon as he should have made himself master of it, to have carried the war into another part of the kingdom; which engagement his bad success rendered him incapable of fulfilling.

Moreover, the King continued to advance further into Guyenne, which circumstance proved very detrimental to the Prince of Condé's interests in that province, and even served in a great measure, to abate the zeal of all his partizans in general; besides, he was very badly served by those whom he had employed, and whom he had furnished with money, for the purpose of levying troops for his service, and who did not raise the tenth part of the number which he had reason to expect, and of which they had given him hopes. His situation must, therefore, have become totally desperate from that very instant, but for a resolution which the Cardinal took, to return to Paris, by which step he himself retrieved the affairs of that Prince. Hence it was commonly observed, at that time, that the chiefs of the different parties derived greater advantage from the faults of their adversaries, than from the prudence of their own conduct. The reasons which induced the Cardinal to take the above resolution were as follow.

The public constantly entertained a notion that Cardinal Mazarin stood high in the Queen's favour, and that, in order to effect his return, she would willingly sacrifice the whole kingdom: but the Cardinal himself perceived that

that she was very well reconciled to his absence. Of this the ministers were convinced still more strongly. But, as Châteauneuf and Villeroi would have found it difficult to have possessed themselves so entirely of her favour, as to have excluded every one else, and as they were not inclined to suffer the designs which they had formed, of getting the whole direction of affairs into their own hands, to appear as yet; knowing, moreover, the Queen's partiality for her relations and for foreigners, they introduced prince Thomas * de Savoy, her cousin german, into the ministry, to supply the place of Cardinal Mazarin.

This Prince was not possessed of any shining abilities, but he had, nevertheless, the best intentions whatever, and was well acquainted with the art of war, although he had always been unsuccessful in that profession. Moreover, he sometimes manifested a degree of good sense; but this was but seldom, seeing that he stammered, spoke very thick, expressed himself in bad French, and was, withal, afflicted with deafness. All the dispatches were drawn up in his presence, and the Queen placed great confidence in him. But what will appear very extraordinary is, that he possessed the first place in the Queen's favour, and the almost supreme direction of affairs, without once perceiving, in the least, the power which he had acquired.

The Cardinal, who was better acquainted with what passed than the Prince himself was, felt much uneasiness on account of the transactions which were carrying on at court, and was apprehensive lest, if he should continue absent much longer, he might find it difficult to effect his return at any rate. Madame de Navailles, the wife of a man who was closely attached to his eminency, pressing the Queen one day to recall him, that Princess answered her in the following terms: "You may well imagine that no one wishes so earnestly as I do to see him here again; but the poor man is unfortunate: "
"affairs,

* Thomas-Francis de Savoy, Prince de Carignan, grand-master of France, generalissimo of the King's armies in Italy: he died, at Turin, in 1656. He was the son of Charles-Emanuel, Duke de Savoy.

“ affairs go on very well in the hands of these people,
“ and it is necessary that, before his return, some vi-
“ gorous measures should be carried into execution a-
“ gainst the Prince of Condé.”

What the Queen said to that lady, and what the Cardinal learnt from various other quarters, determined him to return at all events, and impressed him with a notion, that any longer delay would be attended with certain ruin to him.

As he had ever retained a great influence over the Queen and the ministers, he no sooner acquainted them that it was necessary that he should return, and that it would be proper that the King should send him orders on that head, than they found themselves obliged to yield their concurrence, although with regret; and prince Thomas was the only person who sincerely wished for his return, because he did not foresee that he should, in consequence, be deprived of his post.

Châteauneuf and Villeroi, without appearing openly to oppose the measure, caused Bartet, the secretary of the council, to draw up the letter which the Cardinal required from the King: and they singled out this Bartet for the above purpose, because they knew him to be totally devoted to the Coadjutor, to whom they doubted not but that he would communicate the whole affair, nor were they deceived in their expectations. Bartet immediately gave intelligence of it to the Coadjutor, who had conceived a fresh disgust against the court, on account that a creation of Cardinals had lately taken place, in which he had not been included.

As soon as the Coadjutor learnt that the letter in question had been dispatched, he informed the Duke of Orleans, who had remained at Paris, of this innovation. His Royal Highness was greatly incensed on the occasion: he communicated the matter to the parliament, and neglected nothing to inflame the resentments of that assembly, in which he succeeded without much difficulty, as those gentlemen were already sufficiently disposed to his purpose. It was determined to send two of the members of their body to the Cardinal, to require him to desist from his intention of returning into the kingdom.

This

This intelligence raised the resentment of the *Fronde* against the court to a still higher pitch than ever. The general animosity became so violent, that fire and sword were, in consequence, carried into various parts of the kingdom; and the court was obliged to put off the further execution of their designs against the Prince of Condé to another opportunity, and to return to Paris; but they stopped on their rout, to wait the arrival of Cardinal Mazarin, who was then upon the road, attended by the Marshal d'Hoquincourt, * at the head of a large body of troops.

The pretext which his eminency made use of for returning at this time was, that, having learnt that the King was at war with the Prince of Condé, he had deemed it his duty to raise a body of forces, and to lead them to his Majesty's assistance: but it proved a very fatal assistance to France, causing the loss of many places, and the death of many persons, and raising up a far greater number of enemies against the Queen, than those troops were able to quell.

Prince Thomas beheld all these transactions with infinite pleasure, because he imagined that the advantages which accrued to him from thence, being procured him by Cardinal Mazarin, would be augmented upon that minister's return; and he entertained a distrust of those persons, alone, who had in reality favoured him. But he was greatly surprized to find himself afterwards excluded from all share whatever in the management of affairs.

The Queen, however, still retained a great regard for him; but this only served to render his situation still more unfortunate: for the Cardinal, who did not believe him to be of so weak a character as he really was, ever afterwards considered him in the light of a man, who had intended to supplant him in his post.

Châteauneuf was dismissed from the court, and Villeroy would have experienced the same fate, but for his superior address and abject submission. The Queen was reduced to the most unfortunate situation imaginable: the

* Charles de Monchi d'Hoquincourt, marshal of France: he was killed at the siege of Dunkirk in 1658.

the whole kingdom was irreconcilably incensed against her, for persisting thus obstinately in maintaining the Cardinal in his post, in spite of all consequences : and that minister entertained little less enmity to her, on account of the discovery which he had made, of her having been disinclined to his return. He determined, therefore, as the King was now of age, to establish himself in his favour, independently of the Queen ; and even to deprive that Princess of all share in the direction of affairs, and, also, of all manner of influence over the King ; to effect which he ever afterwards laboured with unremitting assiduity ; according to the testimony of those, who were well acquainted with every transaction, however secret, which happened during the regency.

Various, therefore, were the interests and the apprehensions by which the court was agitated,* when, at length, the Cardinal arrived, accompanied by the Marshal d'Hoquincourt, who commanded his escort. It was imagined that that minister would re-assume all that power, which he had always hitherto possessed : and the Queen expressed the utmost joy for his return, although it plainly appeared afterwards that she was not altogether so well pleased on the occasion as she affected to be.

It is true, nevertheless, that she, at first, found great satisfaction in thus having a person on whom she could rely, and who eased her of the embarrassment of all public affairs : but this did not last long ; and she would willingly, in the sequel, have had less leisure and more trouble, and have preserved her authority entire. Cardinal Mazarin no longer communicated any thing to her of what passed, and he did not even shew her the respect to which she was entitled from him : which kind of conduct the Queen could ill brook ; seeing that, during the absence of the Cardinal, the ministers had always manifested an implicit submission to her will, and had appeared to consider themselves as being totally dependent upon her : in short, they had, in every case, conducted themselves towards her with all
that

* In the year 1652.

that deference which is due to a sovereign. But, since the arrival of Cardinal Mazarin, both the ministry and the court had undergone a total change of appearance.

With respect to the city of Paris, nothing was talked of there but war, and the Duke of Orleans declared his resolution to take up arms, in order to oblige the Cardinal once more to quit the kingdom.

Many persons accepted of commissions to raise troops, which were destined to the execution of this design. The parliament seemed disposed to adopt the like sentiments. But, although those gentlemen proceeded to greater lengths, both against the court, and against the minister, than they had ever hitherto done, as will be seen in the sequel, they could not be prevailed on to issue the edict of union with the Duke of Orleans, which they had so readily granted in the first war of Paris.

The Duke de Nemours went to Flanders, with the view of raising some Spanish troops, for the service of the Prince of Condé, and he returned from thence at the head of a very numerous army. In the mean time, the Duke de Longueville continued in Normandy, with a power so great, that no subject had ever acquired the like before. The whole province was determined to pay an implicit obedience to his will, whatever it might be, and to join with that party into which he should think proper to lead them.

The situation of that province renders it of great importance to the city of Paris, on account of the river: for which reason a connection with the Duke de Longueville was earnestly courted by all parties; and, although he was firmly persuaded, that the Prince of Condé had entered into treaty with the court, without his participation, at the time of his releasement from prison, he was still very unwilling to acknowledge to him, that he had taken some measures with that party; besides, the Duke de Longueville was naturally averse to refuse any request that was made to him: so that he could not prevail on himself to reject entirely the Prince of Condé's application, nor that of the Duke of Orleans,

Orleans, although he constantly paid into the King's hands all the revenues of the province.

Saint-Ibal was deputed to him by the Duke of Orleans: and the Prince of Condé sent the Marquis de Montataire, lieutenant-captain of the Burgundian regiment of light-horse, and marshal-de-camp in his army, although still very young. Both of them exerted all their endeavours, to induce the Duke de Longueville to enter into the party of the *Fronde*.

The Duke of Beaufort himself, who had formerly been more eager than any one else, to engage the Duke de Longueville in a connection with the court, also sent a person into Normandy, to urge him to unite himself with the *Fronde*; and that solely from his natural propensity to change his party continually; and, also, because he never thought that sufficient justice was done to his merit.

On the other hand, Mademoiselle de Longueville, the first President of the parliament of Rouen, and the Cardinal's friends, pressed him still more earnestly to side with the court: in short, never was a person so tormented.

Would he have declared his sentiments with a little more freedom, his favour, it is true, would have been less courted, but, to make amends, he would have avoided numberless importunities. For he was never suffered to enjoy a moment's relaxation, and no sooner had one party drawn off, than another returned to the charge. It is certain, however, that this mode of conduct produced a very favourable effect: for, with all his irresolution, he prevented the entrance of any troops into Normandy, which whole province remained in a state of tranquillity, at a time when every other part of the kingdom was subjected to the miseries of war: which charmed the Normans, who are naturally self-interested, and long rendered that Prince's memory very dear to them.

In order to counterwork the designs and enterprizes of the *Fronde*, the court recalled not only those troops which had been destined to act against the Prince of Condé, but also those which were upon the frontiers:
from

from whence it happened that, in that single campaign, the Spaniards made themselves masters of Dunkirk, Graveline, Barcelona and Casal. France was even within a hair's breadth of losing Alsace, also, in consequence of an incident which I shall here relate : but, in order to explain the affair more at large, it will be necessary to revert further back.

After the death of Erlac, who was governor of Brisac, a person named Charlevoi found himself possessed of an absolute command in that place, in consequence of the great credit which he had acquired with the garrison. It was feared that, availing himself of the troubles of the times, he would stand upon too high terms, or, perhaps, that he might not consent to accept of any conditions whatever, and might enter into treaty with the Emperor, to keep possession of that place for himself, acknowledging no other sovereign than that Prince.

As Charlevoi had ever been closely attached to the Marshal de Guebriant, * the Marshal's widow, † who was well acquainted with his disposition, and who knew what he was capable of, undertook to negotiate with him in behalf of the court. But she succeeded in her negotiation by such extraordinary means, at least, if credit is to be given to the report that was current at that time, that I doubt whether any one else would either have rendered, or accepted of a service on such terms.

The particulars of the above report are as follow. The widow of the Marshal, it is said, knew that the female sex had a great influence over Charlevoi, and that he was blindly devoted to them. She, therefore, took with her a young lady of great beauty, and of a pliant disposition, to inspire him with such sentiments as she wished him to entertain : so that she had only to prescribe to her the mode of conduct she would have her to pursue.

The

* John-Baptist de Budes, Count de Guebriant, marshal of France : he was killed in 1643, before Rotweil, in Germany, which place he besieged and took.

† Renée du Bec, widow of the Marshal de Guebriant : she died, at Perigueux, in 1659.

The Marshal's widow came to Brisac, accompanied by this young lady, in order to negotiate with Charlevoi; and, in a little tour which she made, to view the curiosities of the place, she gave him every opportunity of seeing and conversing with the person whom she had brought with her. As she was handsome, and of a coquetish disposition, she easily attracted the notice of Charlevoi, who attached himself very closely to her. She, on her side, whose sole business it was to please, and not to be cruel, conducted herself towards Charlevoi with no greater reserve than what she judged requisite to the furtherance of the designs of Madame de Guebriant, who, perceiving the connection between them sufficiently established for the execution of her plan, quitted Brisac, and retired to a house at some distance from the city, whither she had been accustomed to go from time to time. Here she feigned to be taken ill, that she might have an excuse for not returning to Brisac: she caused the abovementioned lady to appoint a meeting, at that house, with Charlevoi, with whom it was necessary to use some such artifice, to induce him to quit Brisac: and, upon his arrival, he was immediately put under arrest, and was conducted as a prisoner to Philisbourg.

Some time before this, the Count d'Harcourt had been appointed to the government of Brisac, as a reward for having escorted the Princes of Condé and Conti, and the Duke de Longueville to Havre; as it was usual, at that time, for every one to sell his services at a very dear rate.

The Count d'Harcourt, therefore, having Charlevoi in his power, and the garrison of Brisac not having been changed; he made a proposal to his prisoner to set him at liberty, in case he would surrender that place up to him: which Charlevoi accordingly executed.

By this means, the Count found himself in possession of the two chief places in Alsace, and, with the troops which he had with him, he laid siege to Bréfort, under the pretext that the Count de Suze,* who commanded there,

* Gaspard de Champagne, Count de la Suze. He was the husband of Henrietta de Coligni, famous, under the title of Countess de la Suze, for the excellent poems which she wrote: she died in 1678.

there, was in the interest of the Prince of Condé. The court learnt all these particulars with infinite concern : but they had it not in their power to apply any remedy to the evil.

Although the King was now of age, yet the Duke of Orleans, nevertheless, caused himself to be declared, at Paris, lieutenant general of the kingdom. Matters were carried still further : a price was set on the head of Cardinal Mazarin, notwithstanding that his dignity of Cardinal exempted him from the jurisdiction of the parliament.

The Duke of Orleans, knowing that the King intended to direct his course towards the Isle of France, and fearing lest he should make himself master of Orleans, sent Mademoiselle,* his daughter, thither, who, finding the gates closely shut, effected an entrance at a window, after which she caused the city to declare itself in favour of her father, and obliged the King, who came there the next day, to take another rout.

The Duke of Beaufort, who commanded the army of the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke de Nemours, who was at the head of that of the Prince of Condé, united their forces. The Duke de Nemours had received secret instructions from the Prince of Condé to advance towards Guyenne, and the Duke of Beaufort, on the other hand, had been enjoined by the Duke of Orleans not to remove to too great a distance from Paris. As they could not confide in each other, and as a great disagreement in opinion subsisted between them : this, added to their former mutual inveteracy, produced a quarrel between those two noblemen, which might have terminated fatally on the spot, had not Mademoiselle, who was returning from Orleans to Paris, effected a reconciliation between them.

Afterwards, the Prince of Condé, who did not find his affairs go on prosperously in Guyenne, quitted that province, leaving there the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville ; and, having traversed the whole kingdom, in disguise, at length joined the army of the
Dukes

* Ann-Mary-Louisa d'Orleans, Dutchess of Montpensier : she died, unmarried, in 1693.

Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, after which junction, they gave battle, near Gergeau, to the Marshal d'Houquincourt, whom they defeated.

The Coadjutor had been nominated to the Cardinalship, solely with the view of deluding him: and the court, therefore, did not hesitate to send a courier, some time afterwards, to Rome, to revoke the appointment: information of which design having been given to the Bailly de Gondy, by a courier sent to him, for that purpose, by the Coadjutor, he amused and detained the messenger from the court, under the pretext of regaling him well. At the same time, he secretly dispatched a letter, with all expedition, to the Pope, Innocent X. * who he knew bore a violent hatred to Cardinal Mazarin: and he therein acquainted the Pontiff that, if he was inclined to promote the Coadjutor to the Cardinalship, there was no longer any time to be lost, as there was then at Florence a courier, who was on his rout to Rome, to revoke his appointment.

The Pope, who esteemed the Coadjutor, more on account of his enmity to Cardinal Mazarin, than from any other consideration, made all possible haste to give him the hat, before it could be imagined that he had received the King's letters, appointing another person in his stead; which other was the Abbé de la Riviere: and it was in this manner that he admitted the Coadjutor to the Cardinalship; which surprized and incensed the court to a very great degree.

I shall here relate the particulars of what passed in Guyenne, during the second war of Paris; and, in order to give a clearer idea of the matter, I think it proper to resume the recital from the time of the Prince of Condé's first arrival in that province.

A secretary of the Prince of Conti took it in his head to attempt to gain an influence over the Dutchess de Longueville: he represented to Mademoiselle de Verpilliere, who was one of her maids of honour, and who stood high in her favour, that, so long as the Duke de la Rochefoucault should govern her, as he had great abilities, and as the Dutchess was but too well convinced of that truth, she would never follow any other

than

* John-Baptist Pamphilio, stiled Innocent X. he died in 1655.

than his advice, and that the counsels of other persons would be little heeded by her; that thus, in order to procure to themselves a share of her confidence, it would be necessary to introduce to her some new friend, who should be young, handsome, totally unqualified for the management of affairs, and capable only of pleasing and amusing her. They, accordingly, carried that design into execution; and, the better to insure its success, they introduced M. de Nemours, although formerly he had not been able to render himself agreeable to her, notwithstanding the violent passion which he manifested for her, and all his good qualities and genteel address; and all that rendered him supportable to her was, the promise which he made her, to desert Madame de Châtillon * for her sake, and the pleasure which she felt in depriving a woman whom she hated of a friend of that consequence.

This connection caused an absolute rupture between her and the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who, having for some time past been very desirous of quitting her, embraced this opportunity with the utmost joy.

From the time that he ceased to advise her, she appeared no longer to know what she did: and at Bourdeaux she conducted herself in so extraordinary and so extravagant a manner, that the like was never seen before in a person of her rank.

The Prince of Condé, having judged it necessary to retire from Guyenne, appeared to have committed the management of his affairs, during his absence, to the care of his brother and sister: but all power remained, in reality, in the hands of Marfin and Lené, who possessed his confidence, and to whom he had given his secret orders. That Prince, at his return to Bourdeaux, sent a body of troops to the relief of Moulon.

But to return to what passed during this time, both at court and at Paris, and to finish the recital, I shall next observe, that the Prince of Condé, on his arrival at that city from Guyenne, and from the army, imagined himself to stand well in the favour of the Duke of Orleans, who behaved to him with great civility: but, as soon as he learnt that Cardinal de Retz had conferred

* Elizabeth Angelica de Montmorenci, second daughter of Francis de Bouteville.

conferred with him several times, or, at least, that he had repaired to the Duke's palace, in a secret manner, and had been conducted to his presence up a back staircase, that Prince appeared to be totally beside himself, and he no longer knew what measures to pursue : so much was he confounded on the occasion

On the other hand, the Duke de Bouillon perceived, as did several other persons, also, who were in the secret of affairs at court, that it was not altogether impossible to obtain a share of the Queen's confidence, and even to acquire a greater degree of credit with her than what the Cardinal possessed, since she herself had sometimes complained, with very little reserve, of the extreme want of respect which that minister had manifested towards her, ever since his return.

As the Duke de Bouillon was possessed of greater abilities and penetration than prince Thomas could boast of, he also turned to better advantage the credit which he had acquired with the Queen. Even at a time when the Cardinal was present, he obtained her consent, that his family should be admitted, in future, to rank as Princes ; and his eminency, who could not hinder the measure from taking place, in order to conceal from the world this encreasing influence of the Duke de Bouillon, caused the same privilege to be granted to the house of Rohan.

The Queen, just at this time, * conferred the title of Duke on M. de Créqui ; † and, that it might not, in like manner, be thought, that the Queen granted favours of her own free impulse and authority, Cardinal Mazarin caused her Majesty to bestow the same dignity on M. de Roquelaure. ‡ But that minister could find no remedy against the resolution which was subsequently taken, to put the superintendency of the finances into the hands of the Duke de Bouillon.

It was proposed that the Cardinal should retire for some time, in order to appease the ferment which had arisen in Paris, and in various other parts of the kingdom,

* In the year 1652.

† Charles de Créqui, the third of that name, Duke de Créqui : he died in the post of governor of Paris.

‡ Gaston, Duke de Roquelaure, Marquis de Biran : he died in 1683.

dom, on occasion of his return. Many were strongly of opinion, that this suggestion came from the Cardinal himself, who was desirous of giving the nation that satisfaction. But Frouillé having publicly asked him one day, when he intended to depart, he was so much offended at the question, and returned so harsh an answer, that it was plainly to be seen that he did not at all approve of the determination.

However, he thought proper to withdraw himself very soon afterwards. But, as his good fortune was superior to all that could be attempted against him, the Duke de Bouillon died, just at this time, of the spotted fever, at Pontoise.* This nobleman had been the most dangerous enemy that he ever had, both on account of his personal credit with the Queen-Mother, and also of the influence, which his post of Superintendent of the finances would have given him; and, added to that, on account of the authority which the Marshal de Turenne, his brother, possessed in the army.

The court drew very near to Paris,† and an attack was even made, by the King's troops, on the suburb of Saint Antoine. They did not force it, as they pretended: but neither were they totally repulsed: which rendered the advantage nearly equal on both sides.

Of the court party, Manchini, Saint Maigrin, the Chevalier de la Vieuville, and Nantouidet were killed; and on the side of the *Fronde*, Flamarin, La Roche-Giffard, and the Baron de Caltries. The Duke de Nemours was wounded in the hand, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault received a large wound in his eye.

Although the King's troops had been unsuccessful in their attempt to force an entrance into Paris, yet the Prince of Condé very fortunately obtained admission for his army, which had been obliged to make a circuit round the city, in order to take possession of that suburb.

The people were no longer attached to the *Fronde* in this second war, as they had been at the time of the first, and the citizens even shut the gates against the Prince of Condé. But Mademoiselle, who was much esteemed by the people, persuaded them to suffer his

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troops

* On the 9th of August 1652.

† In the year 1652.

troops to pass through the city : by which she rendered him so essential a service, that his life must, otherwise, have been exposed to imminent danger.

Some time afterwards, the Duke of Orleans sent to solicit succours from the Spaniards, and from the Duke of Lorrain. * The latter led his troops into France in person ; and what will appear very extraordinary, and very surprizing is, that M. Seguier, the chancellor of France, who had entered into the party of the *Fronde*, obliged his son-in-law, the Duke de Sully, to grant a passage to the Spaniards through Mante, of which place he was governor.

How eager soever the Duke of Lorrain might have been to march to the assistance of the Duke of Orleans, his brother-in-law, he was not less so to return home again ; and the King of England, † who negotiated with him on behalf of the court, offered him a sum of money, of which he accepted, without appearing to give himself much concern about the party which he had so lately entered into, and which he now abandoned. The Dutchess of Orleans ‡ felt so great a chagrin on the occasion, that it was thought it would have proved her death ; which circumstance did not much affect the Duke, her brother.

The Dukes of Nemours and Beaufort, who had long been at variance, became reconciled to each other at the time of the battle in the suburb Saint Antoine ; but their union was but of short duration. The Duke of Orleans established a council at Paris, at which they both attended, and, a dispute which arose between them for precedency having revived their ancient jealousies and virulence, the Duke de Nemours sent a challenge to the Duke of Beaufort, in consequence of which a duel ensued, and the former was shot dead on the spot by his antagonist. § This combat was of five on a side, and there were two others killed besides the Duke.

In

* Charles VIII. Duke of Lorrain : he died in 1675.

† Charles II. King of England, who had, at that time, taken refuge in France : he died in 1685.

‡ Margaret de Lorraine, Dutchess of Orleans, youngest daughter of Francis, Count de Vaudemont : she died at Paris, in 1672.

§ In the year 1652.

In a short time afterwards, the people seemed to be seized with a kind of frenzy, which appeared all on a sudden, no one being able to discover who first gave rise to it. This shewed itself in a custom which they had adopted, of wearing straw on their cloaths, as a badge of a good *Frondeur*, and of a person zealously affected to the cause. To such a height was this frenzy carried, that those who did not conform to the above custom, were reputed to be Mazarins, and were constantly in imminent danger of their lives; so that every one, without exception, was obliged to wear this distinguishing mark of his party: insomuch that it was common to see even the ecclesiastics with large wisps of straw on their habits.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé were desirous that the corporation of Paris should demand a junction with the parliament and the Princes; and that they should confirm the lieutenant-generalship of the Duke of Orleans, which had been ratified by the parliament.

For that purpose a numerous assembly was convened at the Hôtel de Ville, at which were present not only the sheriffs and the city counsellors, but also a great number of the members of the superior courts, who attended in quality of colonels of the city-guard in their respective quarters, and the marshal de l'Hôpital,* as governor of Paris.

As soon as they were assembled, the whole Gréve was filled with persons, who appeared to be no other than the populace: but, by their subsequent conduct, they plainly proved that they were nothing less than what they appeared to be.

They began with threatening those of the assembly to kill and to burn them, if they did not comply with every thing that was required of them; and, without knowing what was done in the assembly, they fired a number of pieces, and attempted to climb up to the windows of the Hôtel de Ville; from whence those who were within fired upon them in return: and what plainly demonstrated that the assailants were soldiers was, that, instead of being thrown into disorder by this attempt to check them,

* Francis de l'Hôpital, Count de Rosni, Marshal of France, governor of Paris: he died in 1668.

them, they continued to advance still nearer. It has even been reported, that some of them were overheard to make use of the words Bourgogne and Condé, the titles of the Prince of Condé's two regiments, by way of watch-words.

They carried their insolence so far, at last, as to place a number of faggots about the gate and to set them on fire. Those who were in the Hotel de Ville, perceiving that they were in imminent danger of being burnt, that the gate was already in flames, and that they should be suffocated by the smoke, if they continued there any longer, ventured to quit the place; but they did not render their condition any better by this means. A great number of them were killed; and it was observed that the misfortune fell chiefly on the most distinguished *Frondeurs*, amongst whom perished Miron and Janvri.

The Marquis de l'Hôpital, the governor of the city, against whom the vengeance of the rioters was particularly directed, was very much embarrassed on the occasion. He concealed his blue ribbon, and disguised himself so successfully, that he escaped out of their hands, as if by a miracle, and retired from the city.

It is not rightly known by whom this violent tumult was first set on foot. Each of the different parties disavowed it. But the most common opinion, was, that, the Prince of Condé intending only to alarm the fears of the assembly at the Hotel de Ville, in order to prevent them from deliberating on any matters but what should be approved by him, the soldiers had exceeded their orders. It is said that a man of high rank, who appeared, nevertheless, to be strongly attached to the court, had suggested to the Prince of Condé, that it would be necessary for him to give some public proofs of his power and authority, in order to render his accommodation with the court more advantageous.

There were even some politicians who were of opinion, that certain emissaries of the court had excited the troops to commit these violences, purposely to give the people a disgust to the Princes.

In short, I neither know what the intention was, nor who were the first promoters of this tumult: but they were held in the utmost abhorrence by the people, who
began

He commonly went to court of an evening to negotiate these affairs, and never employed any agent whatever on the occasion. Infomuch that this manner of proceeding might have continued secret for some time longer, had not the Prince of Condé's scouts seized a messenger carrying some letters, by which the whole intrigue was brought to light. And when, some time afterwards, M. de Chavigni, who was totally ignorant of what had happened, visited the Prince of Condé, who had been taken ill, his Highness, shewing him the letters, treated him in so outrageous a manner, that he was seized with a fever, and died in a short time: to so great a degree was he affected with grief and vexation.

Some time afterwards, the King sent orders to the parliament of Paris * to remove to Pontoise, with which that assembly absolutely refused to comply: and, excepting the president de Novion, † and seven or eight others of the members, the rest remained at Paris.

The people in general were so much disgusted at the conduct of their leaders, that, had any one made his appearance amongst them, whom they had never heard of before, he would have been the person whom they would have chosen to head them, and whose party would have been the most numerous.

It is certain, however, that, as much as the Parisians were displeased with the court, they were still more so with each other. The parliamentarians agreed but ill amongst themselves, and they were upon still worse terms with the Princes. The Princes themselves were but indifferently affected towards each other, and they no longer relied on the support of the parliament. The people on their side, now shewed an equal disregard for the *Frondeurs*, of the parliament, and for those of the Princes party.

The court, being informed of all these misunderstandings and disturbances, determined to return to Paris, without entering into a negotiation with any person whatever, and only to send their emissaries, to sound the dispositions of the people, and to procure the concurrence of the colonels and captains of the city-guard in the different quarters. The

* In the year 1652

† Nicholas Poitier de Novion, president a mortier, and afterwards first president.

The Abbé Fouquet was sent privately to Paris on that business, together with the Duke de Bournonville, a native of Flanders, whose very name was scarcely known to the public before that time. They prided themselves greatly in the success they met with in the execution of their commission, although every thing was ready done to their hands, or, at least, was in great forwardness, through the disposition which the people had been induced to adopt, in consequence of the late outrage committed at the Hotel de Ville.

At first, several assemblies were held at the Palais Royal, at which the royalists who attended wore paper in their hats, to distinguish themselves from the *Frondeurs*, who wore straw as a badge of their party.

The Parisians appeared to give themselves no concern about these assemblies and different distinctions. And on the King's birth-day large bonfires were made before the gates of the Palais Royal, and even at some distance from that spot: which example was followed by the citizens in most of the other quarters of the city; and they further expressed their loyalty by drinking, in the most solemn manner, to his Majesty's health.

Cardinal de Retz, having gained intelligence of the intrigues which were secretly carrying on in Paris, on behalf of the court, offered to take the management of them upon himself, and engaged to bring them to a favourable issue. The court thanked him for his offer, and pretended to accept of it; but, at the same time, they strictly enjoined the agents, whom they had employed in those intrigues, not to admit him to any share in them, and to be particularly on their guard against him of all men whatever. He would not, however, suffer himself to be excluded at any rate.

The Prince of Condé, perceiving very clearly that he had nothing further to expect from the Parisians, and that it would be utterly impossible to prevent the city from accommodating matters with the court, retired into Flanders, and the Duke of Lorraine, for the same reason, retired thither also.

Immediately after their departure, it was openly reported, that the King and the Queen intended to return to Paris in a short time; which gave fresh courage

began to be weary of the war, and who no longer entertained the least degree of that attachment, which they had formerly shewn towards the *Fronde*.

The Duke of Orleans, who was known to be incapable of such violences, was never accused of being a party in this transaction: accordingly, intelligence of the affair was carried to him in all haste. He instantly sent Mademoiselle and the Duke of Beaufort, who chanced to be with him at the time, to appease the people, and to effect the releasement of those who were penned up in the Hotel de Ville.

These personages were, therefore, sent by the Duke of Orleans to the Hotel de Ville, for the purpose of appeasing the tumult. But, instead of hastening thither, they amused themselves with disputing by the way, which of them had the greatest share of credit amongst the people. Mademoiselle insisted, that the Duke of Beaufort would not be safe but for her presence; whilst he, who particularly valued himself on his popularity, maintained, that it was to him that she stood indebted for her own security. But, at length, they perceived that their contest was not only very useless, but even dangerous also, as the evil became more and more urgent: which obliged them to advance towards the spot with all possible dispatch, to put an end to the tumult: which, however, was effected more by the secret orders of the Prince of Condé, than by their presence.

Madame de Rhodes, having some affairs to transact with the Cardinal, had met him at the hotel of the princess Palatine. when the news was brought thither of the fire, and of the massacre at the Hotel de Ville: and, as she had a great affection for the Marshal de l'Hôpital, who was her father-in-law, the intelligence caused her to fall into a swoon.

The Cardinal, judging that he should derive considerable advantage from the event which had just been communicated to him, and presuming that he no longer stood in need of the assistance of any person, gave himself little concern about what Madame de Rhodes might have to suggest to him, and quitted her very abruptly, whilst she was yet in a state of insensibility. When she came to herself, she was so violently exasperated at the great neglect

which the Cardinal had shewn, both of her, and of her negotiations, that the chagrin which she felt on the occasion occasioned her death, in less than four days afterwards: and what still contributed to it, was the long distance which she was obliged to go on foot, in order to return to the city without being discovered.

Every one, instead of pitying her, made a jest of her death, as having been guilty of a very silly action: and, with the view of making her appear still more ridiculous, it was further reported, that she had been disguised in the habit of a Cordelier, at the conference which she had with the Cardinal; and that various dresses of Carmelites, Minims, Augustines, in short, of all the different religious orders, had been found in her wardrobe after her decease.

The Duke of Beaufort was appointed governor of Paris, in the room of the Marshal de l'Hôpital, and Broussel was promoted to the office of provost of the merchants. It is requisite to observe in this place, that the Prince of Condé was now become so neglectful and inconsiderate, that he did not send any troops to the relief of St. Maur, till after that place had surrendered.

Notwithstanding all this confusion in the conduct of the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Orleans and he jointly sent a deputation to the Archduke, to solicit his assistance. He, a second time, sent the Duke of Lorraine into France, but with so positive an order to continue there as long as his assistance should be wanted, that he, in consequence, became as closely attached to the party, as he had, at first, been regardless of its interests.

M. de Chavigni, who had formerly done so much for the service of the *Fronde*, now used all his endeavours to effect the destruction of that party, with the view of acquiring thereby the favour of the court. He, therefore, first undertook to bring about the accommodation of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince of Condé, both at the same time. Afterwards he employed himself to negotiate that of the Prince of Condé independently of that of the Duke of Orleans; but, finding this impracticable, he altered his plan, and sought to effect that of the Duke of Orleans separately from that of the Prince of Condé.

He

to the *Mazarins*, and reduced the *Frondeurs* to utter despondency. The provost of the merchants waited on the King, in the name of the corporation, and of all the inhabitants of the city, to request that his Majesty would be pleased to return thither.

After which, and previous to the return of the court, his Majesty sent orders to the Duke of Orleans to retire to Blois, and to Mademoiselle, his daughter, to repair to Bois-le-Vicomte. But she, being strongly influenced by a fear for her safety, chose to go as far as Saint Fargeau. The people even suffered the Duke of Beaufort and Broussel to be driven from the city, with as little concern as if they had never heard their names mentioned.

Some of the members of the parliament, also, were exiled, together with the Dutchesse de Montbazou and de Châtillon, and even a few of those who had most distinguished themselves by their mutinous conduct amongst the rabble; no one appearing to interest himself in the least in their behalf.

A number of seats and a bed of justice were erected in a gallery of the Louvre, in the same manner as at the Palais: and the King commanded the attendance of the members of the several courts, for the purpose of holding a parliament. But, as the King did not mean to consider this parliament as being in its corporate capacity, on account of its removal from the usual place of meeting, instead of sending the master of the ceremonies to the grand chamber, to convene the members, according to antient custom, a letter-de-cachet was delivered to each of them separately; in obedience to which they repaired to the Louvre, where they were joined by those of their brethren who had composed the parliament of Pontoise: and the King afterwards ratified all the edicts which had been issued at Paris respecting private persons.

This authoritative manner, in which the court acted immediately on their return, created a belief that some persons of a greater capacity, than those who had been employed as ministers during the regency, had now the direction of affairs; from whence it was frequently suspected,

suspected, that these and many of the subsequent measures had been suggested by M. le Tellier. *

From the very next day after the King's return to Paris, all things wore as peaceable an appearance in that city, as if the *Fronde* had never existed, and the royal authority seemed to be as firmly established as it had been before the late commotions.

Nevertheless, as Cardinal Mazarin still absented himself, it was plainly to be seen, that there was some secret reason which prevented his return, his power being universally acknowledged, both at court and amongst the people : but no one could form a judgment what that reason might be.

Cardinal de Retz, on his side, was very much perplexed. † Although the court had accepted of his offers and his services, although they had even employed him, although he had been present at the Louvre at the time of the King's arrival, and, finally, although he had preached before their Majesties, since their return, he, nevertheless, well knew what he merited, and he appeared to be under continual apprehensions. He even declined going, as usual, to the Louvre for some time. But it was so strongly represented to him that it would be impossible for him to continue any time upon that footing with the court, that he, at length, consented to return thither, but not without many hesitations and delays. On this occasion, he was convinced that his fears had been but too well founded ; for soon after he entered the palace he was detained a prisoner, by which measure a final stop was put to the public troubles, and every one, after this event, sought to effect his accommodation with the court.

In a short time after Cardinal de Retz had been deprived of his liberty, Cardinal Mazarin returned to Paris, where the people appeared to have as much forgotten the hatred which they had formerly entertained for him, as the attachment which they had manifested for the *Fronde*.

It was readily conceived, that Cardinal Mazarin had thus delayed his return till after the imprisonment of

Cardinal

* Michael le Tellier : he died in the post of chancellor of France in 1635.

† In the year 1632.

Cardinal de Retz, solely with the view of inducing an opinion in the court of Rome, that the ministers had resolved on and had executed that measure without his participation, in order that the detention of one of his brethren might not be imputed to him.

The Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville were so much occupied with the care of recovering their credit in Bourdeaux and in the province, that they totally forgot that they were at open enmity with the court, and imagined that they had no other foes than those two confidants of the Prince of Condé, whom that Prince had left to manage his affairs: which did not benefit their own interest, nor those of his party.

An assembly was afterwards held, near Bourdeaux, which was composed of the lowest and of the most mutinous people of the province, who met, for the first time, at a house called the *Ormée*: from which circumstance the assembly obtained the same title.

The Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville acquired an authority amongst these people: they introduced among them some persons who were totally devoted to their service, and, as this commotion insensibly and naturally encreased, this Prince and Princess observing that the parliament, who were well acquainted with the intentions of the Prince of Condé, suffered themselves to be directed by the advice of Marfin and Lené alone, insinuated to some of the leaders of the *Ormée*, that the parliament were become *Maxarins*, and that they had abandoned the interest of the Prince of Condé: which induced those mutineers to carry matters to that length against them, (the parliament) that they were obliged to retire from the city, although it was to them that the Prince of Condé owed the favourable reception which he had met with from the province. Affairs, therefore, now continued to grow worse and worse, since the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville had thought proper to countenance an assembly of mutineers, in preference to the parliament, that mob of the rabble not being able to afford the Prince of Condé so solid a support, as an assembly of the respectable character of the parliament.

That

That same secretary of the Prince of Conti, who, in order to obtain an influence over the Dutchess de Longueville, had exerted himself to effect a disagreement between the Duke de la Rochefoucault and her; that same secretary, I say, found that the assistance of that Princess was but of little benefit to him: and he concluded that it would be more for his advantage to acquire a credit with his master, independently of the Dutchess de Longueville. He, accordingly, again found means to create a variance between her and that Prince: which occasioned a fresh disturbance in Bourdeaux, and which threw the Prince of Condé's affairs into the utmost disorder and confusion.

A person named Guyonnet, one of the members of the parliament of Bourdeaux, remarkable for his abilities, effected his own accommodation with the court, together with that of the whole assembly.

When the Prince of Condé received intelligence of all these particulars from Marfin and Lené, he expressed the utmost concern and vexation; and this served to encrease the contempt which he entertained for his brother and sister. At length, these various disagreements arose to so high a pitch at Bourdeaux, that the different parties concerned themselves solely about their own private quarrels, totally neglecting the affairs of the Prince of Condé.

The Prince of Conti and the Dutchess de Longueville eagerly closed with the very first proposal made to them by the court for an accommodation. They compelled the city also to do the same: and what gave this Prince and Princess the most satisfaction was, that they each deceived the other on the occasion.

The Prince of Conti entered into a treaty with the Duke de Candale, whom the court had empowered to negotiate with him, in which his marriage was concluded and agreed on with Mademoiselle Martinozzi, the niece of Cardinal Mazarin.

The Dutchess de Longueville, in like manner, on her side, treated, without his knowledge, with the Duke de Vendôme,* who came to Bourdeaux with the fleet, in quality of admiral.

One

* César, Duke de Vendôme: he died in 1665.

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One of the articles of the Prince of Conti's treaty was, that his brother and sister should never be permitted to return to Paris ; and one of those in that of the Dutcheſs de Longueville was, that the court ſhould ſet on foot a negotiation, to effect a reconciliation between her and her husband.

After the concluſion of theſe treaties, there ſcarcely appeared in the kingdom any remains of the late diſturbances ; and the few which ſtill exiſted were ſoon totally diſſipated. But, from the above period, the King's reign has been diſtinguiſhed, ſolely, by a continual and miraculous ſucceſſion of extraordinary deeds, worthy of an eternal remembrance and admiration, and which muſt be attributed leſs to the good fortune of that Prince, than to his excellent qualities, which have incited him to undertake and to execute ſuch a variety of actions, ſo incredible in themſelves, that they will one day cauſe our hiſtory to be conſidered as fabulous, by the ſmall degree of probability which they will appear to poſſeſs, when compared with the tranſactions of future ages, and with all that we moſt admired in our own.

F I N I S.

